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MAHAMANA & MAHATMA

S. SOMASKANDAN AND RAMA VENKATARAMAN

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MAHAMANA AND MAHATMA

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and
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Mahamana and Mahatma.

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FOREWORD

In writing these few lines by way of a foreword, I consider myself blessed in that it was the wish of the author Sri S. Somaskandan, that I should do it. I regarded this as a learning experience and an honour when Dr. Rama Venkataraman, the illustrious daughter of the illustrious father, conveyed to me his desire that I should write this foreword.

This volume is a rare documentation of the lives and interaction of two great minds of modern India, Mahatma Gandhiji and Mahamana Malaviyaji, for both of whom he had great reverence. A staunch Gandhian, Sri. Somaskandan came under the spell of the Mahatma and Mahamana after hearing them in 1934, when he was yet a school student. This inspired him to take to Gandhian ways such as wearing Khaddar and using the spinning wheel (charka). He had decades of close association with the Banaras Hindu University, founded by Malaviyaji. These factors enthused him to follow the path laid by them.

Armed with this background, the author has narrated their life and achievements, in the backdrop of the country's social, cultural and political milieu, neatly dividing the work into three parts. Being a historian, he has brought into play his extraordinary penmanship and acumen in recording, absorbingly, illuminating anecdotes and enlivening episodes which are at times awe inspiring, at times poignant. Fierce patriotism, unremitting toil for the nation, bringing relief to the afflicted, and undergoing personal suffering as the means of achieving

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objectives have been the hallmark of both Gandhiji and Malaviyaji.

The narration throws a flood of light on the conditions prevailing then in the country, touching on areas like history, geography, culture, customs, manners and the 'milk of human kindness' of these leaders. It is interesting to note the interactions between them, since they held, on certain matters, diametrically opposite views and yet harboured no rancour towards each other. In fact, they were like brothers. As instances could be cited their views on the boycott of foreign goods, non-cooperation and civil disobedience. Also could be cited the educational system followed in the Banaras Hindu University. And Gandhiji explains the reason for this, when he says that both followed their own conviction and thus, there was no scope for confrontation or controversy. Both contributed greatly, in their own way, for igniting the minds of the Indians and inspiring them to aspire for freedom. One is reminded of the different paths philosophers follow- the goal being the same. And, in fact, both were philosophers, in the true sense of the word. The lives of both Mahatma Gandhi and Mahamana Malaviya are themselves their message to the masses.

Excerpts from the speeches and writings of these leaders, apart from other important persons lend charm and add value to the book. As has been the wont with this great chronicler, this book is yet another product of assiduous research, a product of poring over hundreds of pages of material and an incisive analysis of the same. This book deserves to be kept in all libraries and in schools and colleges where posterity may

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learn about the sacrifices and selfless lives led by these great men through self-abnegation, though they had plentiful means for a luxurious life. This publication has not come a day early, as the crying need of the hour is the restoration of all that India stood for in the past.

I close with Sage Vyasa's words, which eminently fit both the stalwarts described in the book:

न त्वहं कामये राज्यं न स्वर्गं नापुनर्भवम्।
कामये दुःखतप्तानां प्राणिनामार्तिं नाशनम्॥

Chennai
04.02.2011

C.L. Ramakrishnan

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About the Author

Shri. S. Somaskandan

This is a great book on two great men, written by one, who in his humility, always called himself a small man. If Somaskandan refers to the Mahamana and the Mahatma, I think Somaskandan deserved to be referred to as a great person, though in a different context.

For I truly believe that the ancient and unique Vedic culture of India produced and continues to produce great men like Somaskandan in great numbers. No other country of the world can claim to have created such a culture where such deep knowledge and lofty values have prevailed over so many millennia among so many people in almost every village of the land. If Somaskandan could quote impromptu and extensively from the vast corpus of the Vedas, Upanishads and Itihasas, it was typical of the extensive scholarship that prevailed, and surely came from the systems of our ancient knowledge oriented inheritance, and has remained intact to this day, despite western education and influence.

Banaras on the banks of the holy Ganga remains to this day, the ultimate dream pilgrimage destination of every pious Hindu of India. It was no surprise that Somaskandan's father should have migrated from the far south of India to settle in Banaras and make it his home and the home of the generations

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Author paying tributes to Mahamana

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that followed him. It is no surprise too, that the Mahamana created the Banaras Hindu University as a temple of learning in the highest of Hindu traditions. This convergence of fortunate circumstance gave Somaskandan his education, and later a career of service in this University, He started this career as an unpaid apprentice in 1939, then as a clerk and later rose gradually in its administrative hierarchy, till finally in 1979 he retired as the Deputy Registrar of the University. More importantly, these years gave Somaskandan the opportunity to study in close proximity the life and work of the Mahamana and also adopt him as a role model for his own life of simple living and high thinking.

Somaskandan thus became uniquely positioned to compile the official History of the Banaras Hindu University, and also write extensively on the work of the Mahamana, and on all the great personalities of those times, including the Mahatma, in their interactions with the Mahamana. And surely this book must be considered as a valuable contribution to the History of Modern India, presenting a unique view at close quarters, of two of her greatest sons who fought and won the country's freedom. The Mahamana and the Mahatma were indeed towering personalities, the finest exemplars of the country's ancient culture. Though they were so much at variance with one another in their perceptions and methods for achieving the political aspirations of India, yet they remained bound by extraordinarily close bonds of mutual affection and regard.

It is a pity that by the time he had written most of this book, Somaskandan did not live to complete it himself. But seeing his end approaching, he provided guidelines to his

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daughter Rama, to complete it, which, true to the high standards set by her father, she did with fidelity and competence. To me Somaskandan was an elder brother and a devoted friend and I find comfort in the fact that he has left such a monumental work for the benefit of coming generations of India who would scarce believe that men like the Mahamana and the Mahatma lived and sanctified this land in the way they did. For this great contribution, I salute Somaskandan, my dear friend, whose humility remained untouched by the greatness of his scholarship.

Chennai
4th February, 2011

N. Krishnaswamy IPS (Retd)
Chairman, Vidya Vrikshah

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PREFACE

This is a saga of two dedicated and illustrious sons of our motherland-Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Sri Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. It is said that the Poet Rabindra Nath Tagore had given them the epithets MAHAMANA and MAHATMA respectively. Both Malaviyaji and Gandhiji were champions of India's freedom movement and can be rightly called the architects of modern India. They possessed constant spirit of sacrifice and self-less service and were therefore true karma-yogis.

The idea of writing this book was mooted in the mind of my father during a stay at my home in Chennai in 2007. It was during this stay that he saw all the 100 volumes of the 'The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi' and many other books on Gandhi by writers like D.G.Tendulkar etc. in my house, collected by my son Dr. V. Aravind. My father was the co-author of the 'History of the Banaras Hindu University'. He also wrote about Malaviyaji's life and works in various articles and books. His lifelong association with Banaras Hindu University started as a student and actively continued even after his retirement as the Deputy Registrar of the University. In this context he had many close interactions with Pandit Malaviya. He had an equal regard for Mahatma Gandhi also. He visualized that it would be a new and challenging perspective to study the two great leaders together and he suggested to me why not we write a book on both of them, the Mahamana and the Mahatma.

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MAHAMANA AND MAHATMA

When writing about two great souls, it is difficult to choose whom to give precedence. By following the tradition of our Indian culture giving deference to age, we have written about Mahamana before Mahatma.

With great enthusiasm he started working on the project and I was helping him. He wrote nearly 200 pages. Unfortunately he fell down and fractured his hip bone. He was 90 years old. Doctors put him on traction as surgery was not possible at that age. He was completely confined to bed for two months. I was with him at Banaras nursing him during his last days. He was always worried about the book he had started to write. He wanted to finish the work he had undertaken somehow. But the condition of his health was slowly deteriorating and it seemed quite uncertain whether he would recover enough to complete the book. One day he told me that he was entrusting the full responsibility of completing the book to me, after doing meticulous research and thorough study. I said with tears rolling down my cheeks that I would complete this book to the best of my ability and according to his wish and asked him not to worry. I saw an expression of relief and appreciation on his face. He asked me to bring the picture of Pandit Mahamana Madan Mohan Malaviya, which was hanging on the wall in front of his bed, looked at it with love and respect, moving his hands gently over the picture. He passed away on 30th October 2009.

The present work is divided into three parts. The first part deals with the life and works of Malaviyaji up to 1915 A.D. The second part is devoted to the life and works of Gandhiji from 1869 to 1915. This part is mostly based on Gandhiji's

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own writings, especially 'Satyagraha in South Africa' and 'An autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth'. It was in the Congress session of 1915 that Malaviyaji and Gandhiji first met in person and thereafter their active association continued without any break right till Malaviyaji's death. The third part 'Mahamana and Mahatma' deals with this period of association and gives the stand taken by these great leaders on some vital issues of national importance. The authors do not intend to compare or evaluate their views. The point to be noted is this, that Malaviyaji and Gandhiji differed on number of issues, accepted it with perfect grace, nevertheless their association and mutual regard never diminished.

The major portion of the book was written by my father. He had already sketched an outline of the book and that served me well to complete his work exactly as he had visualized it. I started working on the book. My father was guiding me invisibly. I am sure that this book is written by him through me.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge my obligations to eminent scholars whose works have been a source of help and inspiration to me. I have derived much help from the writings of Sitaram Chaturvedi, Paramanand, Ram Naresh Tripathi and S.Somaskandan on Malaviyaji.

The main credit goes to my husband Mr. P. Venkataraman, who more than anyone else gave me full support and co-operation and encouraged me to complete this work. Without his support it would have been impossible for me to complete this book. Words are not adequate to express my sense of gratitude to him.

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My brother, Dr. S. Vijay Kumar, has always been a source of inspiration to me and has guided me by his excellent comments and corrections. His timely advice and words of appreciation and encouragement has kept my enthusiasm alive. I am very thankful to him and his wife Smt. Bhuwaneshwari for supplying the reference books and their assistance to complete this book.

My blessings to my nephew Mr. Akshya Shiva for helping me to translate some of the portions written in Hindi by my father. My blessings to my son Dr. V. Aravind who was the main motivator (indirectly) behind writing this book by the collection of all the 100 books of 'The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi'. He also helped me by locating and downloading some books from Internet which were out of print. I am also thankful to Dr. Jayant Upadhyay and V. Vibhu Krishna for their assistance at various levels.

All members of my father's family (son, daughters, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, grandsons) gave me full support and co-operation by assisting in so many ways to complete this book. I believe that this book has been completed up to my father's expectations. We all always seek his blessings.

I am very grateful to Sri N. Krishnaswamy, IPS (Retired) who has helped with his meticulous corrections of the drafts of this book. Grateful is not an adequate word, I have for him the same affection and regard that I had for my father and for me he remains a father-figure. He and my father had great regard and affection for each other and he has been kind enough to add a personal note to this book as a mark of respect to my father.

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I am very grateful to Dr. C. L.Ramakrishnan, IPS (Retired) for writing the Foreword to this book. My father had great regard for him, and this was his wish that Dr.Ramakrishnan should write the Foreword. It will be no exaggeration to mention here the extraordinary effort taken by him and Dr. (Mrs.) Alamelu Ramakrishnan in correcting the proof meticulously and with a deep sense of commitment. Their involvement in this task cannot be expressed in words. I am very much indebted to them for their guidance which enabled me to bring out this book splendidly.

I express my sincere thanks to Sri. C. V. N. Ravi, the proprietor of Jai Ganesh Offset Printers, Mylapore, Chennai for printing this book in a very short time and in a very fine manner for which they are well known.

Despite my best efforts, some mistakes and omissions might have crept in. I crave the indulgence of the readers for all the shortcomings. My efforts in completing this book will be immensely fulfilled if it prompts someone to study further the great achievements of Mahamana and Mahatma.

February 4, 2011
Foundation Day of the
Banaras Hindu University

Rama Venkataraman

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Mahamana Madan Mohan Malaviya

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PART—I

MAHAMANA MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

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CHAPTER I

TEERTHARAJ PRAYAG

Millions of years ago India did not exist in its present geographical form. According to Geologists, its area south of the Aravalli mountain was a part of the southern land masses, comprising India, South Africa, South America, Australia, Arabia and parts of the East Indian Archipelago, known collectively as Gondwanaland. The Himalayas and the whole of North India were under the sea which was named by the Geologists as the Sea of Tethys. On the north of this sea was situated the northern land masses consisting of North America and Eurasia, known collectively as Laurasia. The Tethys was a great Mediterranean between Laurasia and Gondwanaland, and it extended from China to Spain. Then there was a geological upheaval. The Himalayas gradually rose out of the sea of Tethys. India began to drift northward or north-eastward. The Tethys became shallow and as ages passed, it was obliterated by sediments deposited from both sides, especially from the newly risen Himalayas. The waters of the Sea of Tethys split over to what is now the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal, shaping India as it is today.

We are then told that people belonging to different races - the Negritos from Africa, the Proto-Australoids, the Mongoloids,

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the Dravidians, the Alpines and lastly the Vedic Aryans—migrated into this newly formed land. The Vedic Aryans are said to have entered India with their Nature Gods, their sacrificial rituals, their cows and horses. They came into conflict with the Dasas and Dasyus. The conflict between the Aryans and the non-Aryans went on unceasingly for about five centuries till the Aryans finally prevailed throughout the country. The races mingled, customs and beliefs got merged and a composite race began to take shape.

The rich culture of the Vedic Aryans flourished in the Ashrams of the Vedic Rishis situated in the area of Sapta Sindhu, the land of seven rivers and particularly on the banks of the rivers, Sarasvati and Drishadvati. The Manu Smriti says:

सरस्वती दृषद्वत्योर्देवनद्योर्यदन्तरम्।
तं देव निर्मितं देशं ब्रह्मावर्तं प्रचक्षते॥

The land between the two sacred rivers Sarsavati and Drishadvati was called Brahmavarta and was regarded very sacred. The whole of Brahmavarta was covered with trees and areas of great attractive natural beauty. Many sages, ascetics and scholars of the Vedas lived in the hermitages, in a peaceful and pure atmosphere, and these sacred places were always engrossed in religious sacrifices and penance. Great sacrifices were performed continuously at one place, on the banks of the Sarasvati river, in the sacred Brahmavarta, and the smoke of that sacrifice filled the air. According to ancient legend, Brahma was said to have performed the Asvamedha Yaga in the presence of divine sages at that place which was called 'Prayag' after the Prakrusta Yaga (excellent Sacrifice) that was performed by him.

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यत्रायजत भूतात्मा पूर्वमेव पितामहः।
प्रयागमिति विख्यातं तस्माद् भरतसत्तम॥
(महाभारत, वन पर्व, अध्याय ८७, श्लोक १९)

A sacrifice (yaga) performed in the Vedic tradition is called 'Kratu'. Asvamedha Yaga is called 'Kraturat', the king of sacrifices and is considered as the best and as a remover of all sins. The Prakrushta Yaga performed by Brahma was very lengthy, elaborate, and dignified, as conveyed by the very word Prakrushta. God Vishnu was said to have been present at that great sacrifice and it was a happy occasion for all deities who attended it. They requested Vishnu to grant a boon by which that place will become a place of perennial joy leading to salvation. Vishnu gladly assented, proclaimed that place as Brahmakshetra and announced that a king of the Suryavamsa lineage will bring the river Ganga one day to earth and would be joined there with the river Yamuna, daughter of the Sun, and everyone including Brahma would dwell there with Vishnu, to make the place famous as 'Teertharaj'.

In due time, Vishnu's words came true, when by the efforts of King Bhagirath, the divine river Ganga came down to earth and joined the river Sarasvati at Prayag. Some time later, they were joined by the river Yamuna which originated from Kalinda mountain of Himalayas and was therefore also called Kalindi. The place of the origin of the Yamuna is the peak of Yamunotri, of a height of 10849 feet. The Yamuna flows 860 miles from there to join the Ganga at Prayag. The meeting place of the three rivers, Ganga, Yamuna and Sarasvati, was therefore called 'Triveni'. And as these three rivers met at Prayag, the place was also called 'Teertharaj Prayag'.

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CHAPTER II

FIRST WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

In the year 1600 A.D. some merchants in England formed a company to trade with India and they obtained a charter from Queen Elizabeth I (1558 -1603), on December 31, 1600, granting them exclusive trading rights with India. In pursuance of this, in 1608 one Captain Hawkins arrived in India, had an audience with Emperor Jehangir and obtained a '*firman*' from him to open a factory of the East India Company at Surat. This order however was cancelled due to the intervention of the Portuguese who had arrived in India much earlier and had established themselves in Goa in the year 1510.

Then in 1615, Sir Thomas Roe came to India as an ambassador of King James of England (1603-1625). Pleased with his talk, Emperor Jehangir permitted the East India Company to establish its factories in India. The Company established its first factory at Surat which soon became the centre of the Company's commercial activities in India. In 1633 another factory was established by the Company in Masulipatnam and in 1651 a third factory came into existence in Hoogly (Bengal). In the year 1640, the Company established itself in Madras and there laid the foundation for a Fort for their occupation. When the Fort was ready, it was named Fort St. George. In 1669 another factory was established by the

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Company in Bombay and in 1698 one more factory was added in Calcutta.

Ultimately, the Company had 23 factories, each under the command of a factor or master merchant and governor if so chosen, and with 90 employees, in India. The major factories became the walled forts of Fort William in Bengal, Fort St George in Madras and the Bombay Castle in Bombay. Bombay, Calcutta and Madras became very important political and defence centres besides being great business centres. Indian traders gave full support for its prosperity and growth as the door of the profitable opportunity of import and export was open to them. The alliance of Britishers and Indians was very helpful for the progress of the Company.

In 1717, the Company achieved its most notable success when it received a *firman* or royal charter from the Mughal Emperor exempting the Company from the payment of custom duties in Bengal.

The East India Company traded mainly in cotton, silk, indigo dye, saltpetre, tea, and opium. However, it also came to rule large swathes of Indian territory, exercising military power and assuming administrative functions, to the exclusion, gradually, of its commercial pursuits. Company rule in India, which effectively began in 1757 after the Battle of Plassey, lasted until 1858, when, following the events of the Indian Rebellion of 1857, and under the Government of India Act 1858, the British Crown assumed direct administration of India in the new British Raj.

In the year 1857 Indian soldiers in the service of the English East India Company revolted against their English

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military officers. English historians have written that the revolt was just a mutiny. But Indian historians saw it as the First War of Indian Independence. It is also known as the Great Revolt of 1857. At that time Lord Canning was the Governor-General of India.

The causes of the Great Revolt were social, religious, political, economic and military. The social and religious causes of the Great Revolt started when the conservative sections of the Indian population were alarmed by the rapid speed of western culture in India. The abolition of '*Sati*' and female infanticide was considered to be an interference in the customs and traditions of the Hindus. The Hindu law of property was changed to enable a Christian convert to receive his share of ancestral property, and to encourage Hindus to convert to Christianity. Further, the statement of one Mr.Mangles, a member in the House of Commons aroused fear among the people that the government intended to convert everyone to Christianity. Mr.Mangles had said, "Providence has entrusted the extensive empire of Hindustan to England, in order that the banner of Christ should wave triumphant from one end of India to the other." Even the introduction of the railways and telegraphs was regarded as an attempt to westernize the Indians.

Political causes had their origin in Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexations, particularly the application of the 'Doctrine of Lapse'. His policy had created fear and uneasiness throughout India. The annexation of Hindu states like Satara and Nagpur were resented by the Hindus. The annexation of Oudh whose ruler had been a friend and an ally of the English East India Company for about a century were resented not only by the

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Muslims but also by the other rulers of India. The British Government had ordered that on the death of the last Mughal Emperor, his successor was to give up his ancestral palace.

Again, certain thoughtless remarks made by some high British officials created an impression that the government had made up its mind to put an end to the existence of Native States. Sir Charles Napier had stated thus: "Were I the Emperor of India for twelve years... no Indian Prince should exist, the Nizam should be no more heard of, Nepal should be ours." By stopping the pension to Nana Saheb, the adopted son of Baji Rao II, the British made him their deadly enemy.

The economic causes of the Revolt started when the annexation of a native state not only deposed a king, but also resulted in the growing unemployment of hundreds of his officials. Bentinck's policy in respect of rent-free lands brought a lot of money to the government but condemned many land owners to poverty. During the five years before the outbreak of the revolt, the Imam Commission in Bombay, appointed by Lord Dalhousie to investigate the title deeds of the landowners, confiscated some 20,000 estates in the Deccan. In Oudh, the Nawab's capital was occupied by the Chief Commissioner, his officials were dismissed and his army was disbanded. 60,000 professional soldiers lost their livelihood. All these converted Oudh into 'a hot bed of discontent and intrigue.'

The Zamindari system introduced by Lord Cornwallis brought economic ruin to the Indian peasants. As a result of the Industrial Revolution in England, their industrial goods like textiles flooded the Indian markets. Indian industries perished and several thousands of Indian artisans lost their livelihood.

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The Military causes of the Great Revolt came about in the following way. If the army had been loyal to the British as before, such an outbreak might not have taken place. But a feeling of discontent developed among the Indian sepoys for various reasons. The highest pay given to an Indian sepoy as subedar was less than the minimum pay of a raw European recruit. Generally, there was no promotion for Indian soldiers. The sepoys were also treated very badly. The feeling of discontent was intensified by Lord Canning's General Services Enlistment Act (1856) ordering all recruits of the Bengal army to be ready for service both within and outside India. The Crimean war, the Persian war and the Chinese war had sorely taxed the resources of England. The proportion of the Indian troops to the British troops was very high. The number of the native soldiers was five times more than that of the British. Further, places of strategic importance like Delhi and Allahabad were wholly held by the Indian soldiers. These factors emboldened the sepoys to rise against the British.

The immediate cause for the mutiny arose from the greased cartridges supplied for the new Enfield rifles. The cartridges had to be bitten off before insertion into the weapon. The British manufacturers were reported to have used the fat of cows and pigs to grease the cartridges. Both the Hindus and the Muslims refused to use them as the cow is sacred to the Hindus and the pig is detestable to the Muslims. At Barrackpore, near Calcutta, Mangal Pandey, an Indian soldier, shot his officer dead. He was hanged to death and the troops at Barrackpore were court-martialed and sentenced to imprisonment.

The first sign of unrest appeared early in 1857 at Barrackpore and Berhampore in Bengal. That was quickly

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suppressed and the rebels were punished. But the sepoys broke out in open revolt at Meerut in May 1857, broke open the prison and released their imprisoned comrades. Then they galloped to Delhi and brought it under their control. The Revolt then spread to Lucknow, Bareilly, Kanpur, Agra, Jhansi, Banaras, Central India, Bundelkhand and to other places. The Sikh leaders in the Punjab, the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Scindia of Gwalior remained quiet. The Afghans, Sikhs and Gurkhas were loyal to the British. The Madras and the Bombay Regiments did not join the revolt.

Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi, Tantia Topi, Nana Saheb and Kunwar Singh were the important leaders of the mutiny. The mutiny chiefly centred around three cities - Kanpur, Delhi and Lucknow. When the revolt broke out at Kanpur, Nana Saheb who was living there in comfort joined the rebels, and declared himself to be the Peshwa. The English there, surrendered to the rebel forces, and their men, women and children were mercilessly massacred. Nana Saheb was finally defeated by Sir Colin Campbell and he fled to Nepal, where he died after a few years. By the middle of November 1857, Kanpur was brought under control.

Sir Archdale Wilson, Nicholson and Sir John Lawrence were the military officers who freed Delhi from the rebels. The Kashmir Gate was blown up in September and the city and the palace were captured after desperate fighting. The city was sacked by the British soldiers and the people were massacred mercilessly. Bahadur Shah II, the powerless Mughal Emperor in Delhi was tried for treason and exiled to Rangoon, where he died at the age of eighty-seven. With his death, the once

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mighty Mughal dynasty ended. His sons surrendered to Lt. Hodson, a fierce cavalry officer. But they were cruelly shot down on the pretext that they were guilty of the murder of the English men, women and children.

The recapture of Delhi and imprisonment of Bahadur Shah broke the back of the mutiny. Lucknow was another centre of rebellion. The Chief Commissioner, Sir Henry Lawerence and Colonel Neil were killed. Begum Hazarat Mahal, the wife of Nawab of Oudh had also joined the rebels. Finally Lucknow was recaptured by Sir Colin Campbell in March, 1858 with the help of a powerful Gurkha contingent under Jang Bahadur. In Central India, the great rising was led by Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi and Tantia Topi, who came from Kanpur. Both fought very bravely. The Rani fought very bravely till she was killed in the battle in June 1858. Tantia Topi escaped, but was captured and put to death.

Thus the episode of the Great Revolt ended. Lord Canning proclaimed peace throughout India. Though there was much demand for vengeance from the English, Canning was prudent enough to disregard it, and arranged for the proper trial and punishment of only those who were really guilty.

Various causes led to the failure of the Revolt of 1857. There was no unity of purpose among the rebels. The sepoys of Bengal wanted to revive the ancient glories of the Mughals while Nana Saheb and Tantia Topi tried to re-establish the Maratha power. Rani Lakshmi Bai fought to regain her lost State. Secondly, this rising was not widespread. It was confined to North and Central India. Even in the north, the Punjab, Sind and Rajputana remained aloof. The British managed to get the

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loyalty of the Madras and Bombay regiments and the Sikhs, Afghans and Gurkhas. The Gurkhas actually helped the British in suppressing the mutiny.

The lack of resources both in men and money made the rebels give up the struggle on many occasions. The telegraphic system and postal communication helped the British to speed up their operation. Indian leaders lacked organization and planning. The rebel leaders were no match to the British Generals. Lakshmi Bai, Tantia Topi and Nana Saheb were courageous but were not good generals. Finally the English mastery of the sea enabled them to get timely help from England.

Though the Great Revolt failed to achieve its aim, it certainly produced far reaching results. It put an end to the Company's rule in India. Administration of India was directly taken over by the British Crown. By a special Act, both the Board of Control and the Board of Directors were abolished and the office of the Secretary of State for India was created with an Indian Council of 15 members to assist the Governor-General and Viceroy of India.

The Indian army was thoroughly reorganized. The policy of ruthless conquests in India was given up and the Indian princes were given the assurance that their States would not be annexed. The right of adoption was also given to them. Full religious freedom was guaranteed to Indians who were also given the assurance that high posts would be given to them without any discrimination.

The Queen's proclamation issued on this occasion created an atmosphere of calm and faith which kept the country in a

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state of peace. Whatever discontent there was became absolutely helpless. The nobility, particularly the Muslim nobility, was practically crushed out of existence and there was not even a titular person left to serve as a rallying point in any future adventure like that of 1857. The British Rule came to be recognized as a dispensation of Providence and India settled down with that resignation which is one of our national characteristics.

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CHAPTER III

QUEEN VICTORIA'S PROCLAMATION

The Queen's Proclamation was likened to the 'Magna Carta' because it confirmed the earlier treaties of the East India Company with the Indian Princes; promised to pay due regard to the ancient rites and customs of India and granted general pardon to all offenders except those who had directly taken part in the murder of the British subjects.

The purpose of Queen Victoria's Proclamation concerning India, issued in 1858, was to announce that England was assuming control of its Indian colonies, removing them from the administration of the British East India Company. A secondary purpose was to reassure the people of India that Britain intended to respect and preserve the culture of India, particularly the right of Indians to practice their traditional religions. Queen Victoria's Proclamation concerning India was actually written by Edward Stanley, the fourteenth Earl of Derby.

Victoria, the queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, placed her stamp on most of the nineteenth century in England, for after she ascended the throne in 1837, she ruled for an astonishing sixty-three years and seven months until her death in 1901. She presided over the expansion of a British Empire that spanned the globe, giving rise to the

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expression that "the sun never sets on the British Empire". Chief among Britain's colonies was India, which came to be known as "the jewel in the crown" of the British Empire and continued under British administration until it achieved independence in 1947.

Queen Victoria's Proclamation concerning India represented the end point of a process of colonization of India that began in the early sixteenth century. For more than two centuries, India had been in effect a series of trading outposts under the administration of the British East India Company—at least from the perspective of the British. The Indian subcontinent was fractured by the activities of competing local rulers, some of whom allied themselves with the British colonizers for their own gain and to preserve their own power. Greed and corruption, however, when combined with efforts to westernize India, undermined the authority of the British East India Company, leading in 1857 to an armed rebellion called the Sepoy Revolt. In response to the revolt, the British Parliament passed the Government of India Act (more formally, an Act for the better Government of India), which transferred authority of India to the Crown. The Queen's proclamation two months later announced the changes that were taking place in British-controlled India.

Queen Victoria's Proclamation concerning India was essentially a diplomatic document, couched as it was in the formal language of diplomacy. It announced the results of the Government of India Act, which the British Parliament had passed two months earlier, in August 1858. Its purpose was to announce that the British government was assuming control

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over India from the British East India Company. It was addressed to the people of India, announcing the change and assuring the Indian people that the British government would not interfere with their rights and traditional practices, including religious beliefs.

The document begins with a formal salutation to the Indian people, including India's princes and chiefs, from Queen Victoria. It goes on to note that for "weighty reasons", the government of Great Britain; including the House of Lords and House of Commons of Parliament, is assuming control over India from the East India Company. The text of the Proclamation is reproduced below to give an idea of how the British Government functioned at that time

Proclamation by the Queen in Council to the Princes, Chiefs, and People of India (Published by the Governor-General at Allahabad, November 1st, 1858).

Victoria, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Colonies and Dependencies thereof in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australia, Queen, Defender of the Faith.

Whereas, for diverse weighty reasons, We have resolved, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, to take upon Ourselves the Government of the Territories in India heretofore administered in trust for us by the Honourable East India Company:

Now, therefore, We do by these Presents notify and declare that, by the advice and consent aforesaid, We have taken

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upon Ourselves the said Government; and We hereby call upon all Our Subjects within the said Territories to be faithful, and to bear true Allegiance to us, our Heirs, and Successors, and to submit themselves to the authority of those whom we may hereafter, from time to time, see fit to appoint to administer the Government of Our said Territories, in Our name and on Our behalf:

And We, reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability, and judgment of our right trusty and well-beloved cousin and councillor, Charles John Viscount Canning, do hereby constitute and appoint him, the said Viscount Canning, to be our first Viceroy and Governor-General in and over our said territories, and to administer the government thereof in our name, and generally to act in our name and on our behalf, subject to such orders and regulations as he shall, from time to time, receive from us through one of our Principal Secretaries of State.

And We do hereby confirm in their several offices, civil and military, all persons now employed in the service of the Honourable East India Company, subject to our future pleasure, and to such laws and regulations as may hereafter be enacted.

We hereby announce to the native Princes of India that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observance on their part.

We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and, while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions

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or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity and honour of native Princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.

We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessings of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all alike shall enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.

And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge.

We know, and respect, the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from

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their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State; and generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India.

We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious men, who have deceived their Countrymen, by false reports, and led them into open Rebellion. Our Power has been shown by the Suppression of that Rebellion in the field; We desire to show Our Mercy, by pardoning the Offences of those who have been thus misled, but who desire to return to the path of Duty.

Already in one Province, with a view to stop the further effusion of blood, and to hasten the Pacification of Our Indian Dominions, Our Viceroy and Governor-General has held out the expectation of Pardon, on certain terms, to the great majority of those who, in the late unhappy Disturbances, have been guilty of Offences against our Government, and has declared the Punishment which will be inflicted on those whose Crimes place them beyond the reach of forgiveness. We approve and confirm the said act of Our Viceroy and Governor-General, and do further announce and proclaim as follows:—

Our clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been, or shall be, convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. With regard to such, the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy.

To those who have willingly given asylum to Murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or insti-

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gators in Revolt, their lives alone can be guaranteed; but in apportioning the Penalty due to such Persons, full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their allegiance; and large indulgence will be shown to those whose Crimes may appear to have originated in too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing Men.

To all others in Arms against the Government, We hereby promise unconditional Pardon, Amnesty, and Oblivion of all Offence against Ourselves, Our Crown and Dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits.

It is Our Royal Pleasure that these Terms of Grace and Amnesty should be extended to all those who comply with their Conditions before the First Day of January next.

When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest duty to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out our wishes for the good of our people.

This Proclamation was read out in India by the Governor-General of the day, Lord Canning who became the first Viceroy, at a durbar held on the high bank of River Yamuna just above its confluence with the Ganges near the fort at Allahabad (called Teertharaj Prayag) on 1st November, 1858.

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CHAPTER IV

MALAVIYAJI'S BIRTH AND PARENTAGE

Three years later, the same city of Allahabad, which is known as Teertharaj Prayag, because in it is situated the Triveni Sangam-a confluence of three sacred rivers, the Ganga, the Yamuna and the invisible Sarasvati, witnessed on the Christmas day of 1861, the birth of Madan Mohan Malaviya in a pious and religious family.

During the time of Malaviyaji's birth, Allahabad was completely dependent on the rivers gifted by nature, for its economy. It had no business and commercial activities, no industrial and agricultural growth, except a little trade that was needed to cater to the requirement of the pilgrims who flocked to the Triveni Sangam for religious pilgrimage throughout the year and particularly, during the month of Magh (Jan-Feb).

Allahabad, before the birth of Malaviyaji was a military cantonment and garrison town. There were very little political and intellectual activities in contrast to the developed city of later years. The importance of its location, surrounded by the vast expanse of water at the Triveni Sangam was recognized by the Mogul Emperor Akbar. While proceeding to Bengal by boat he noticed this vast sheet of water and realized its logistic

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and strategic importance. He constructed the Fort at a point equidistant from Jhusi and Arial across the Ganga and the Yamuna respectively and then followed it with stationing of a provincial Governor there.

The birth of Madan Mohan Malaviya coincided with a happy turn of events and prosperity coming to Allahabad. An era of development and growth commenced and Allahabad rose to the peak of prosperity. All this happened because of its being made the seat of Government of the North Western Provinces. The fort in Allahabad withstood many major attacks and ensured the security and safety of the city. The Governor General's visit in January 1858, when Allahabad became his temporary head quarters, resulted in his issuing orders reconstituting the North Western Provinces (excluding the Delhi Division) as a Lieutenant Governorship, with Allahabad as its capital.

From the year of Malaviyaji's birth, Allahabad thus grew and prospered rapidly and over a period of time, came to possess all the necessities and luxuries of a capital city. The new High Court for the North Western Provinces was established in 1866. To impart studies with degree courses, the Muir Central College was established in 1872. A Government hospital and a Government high school were established in 1861. A public library with access to one and all was established in 1864. To house the principal Government offices such as the Secretariat, the Board of Revenue, the High Court and the Accountant General's Office etc. four double storied buildings were constructed. The first railway bridge for East Indian Railway, across the river Yamuna was constructed and opened for traffic in 1865. Keeping the same pace of development in the ongoing

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years, the Mayo Hall, the Thornhill-Mayne Memorial to house the public library and a museum, and a new building of the Muir Central College, besides the Kotwali and the Government Press were constructed. The city witnessed a phenomenal growth in population, from 72,093 in year 1853 to 105,926 in year 1865, 143,693 in the year 1872, 148,547 in the year 1881 and 175,246 in the year 1891, and keeping the same trend touched 260,630 in the year 1941 being the last census during Malaviyaji's life time.

In his book entitled "Mahamana Madan Mohan Malaviya", Sri Paramanand wrote "It almost seems Allahabad anticipated and prepared itself in advance to supply the needs, as they arose, of the newborn-citizen who was to shed lustre on it by his life-long service and self-sacrifice. There was a Government high school in working order before he was of school-going age; there was a first rate degree college in time for him to join after matriculation and there was a High Court and a considerable local population before he set up in legal practice. The field for his political, social and religious work was also developing in three decades."

Madan Mohan Malaviya was born on Wednesday, 25th December 1861 A.D. His ancestors, the Mallai or Malaiya sect of Brahmans were settled in Malwa in the heyday of the Paramar dynasty and enjoyed royal patronage till circumstances compelled them to emigrate. One of the later Paramar rulers, anxious to unite the northern and southern sections of Brahmans, the Panch-Gaur and the Panch-Dravid, called on them to inter-dine and inter-marry. The Malaviyas (Malaviya, as the proper Sanskrit name, rather than Mallai or Malaiya, was given by Malaviyaji himself) proud of their Aryan ancestry

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refused to fall in with the Royal order and preferred to quit the realm. They migrated westward. Some of them settled at Patna and some at Mirjapur. Some families came further west and settled down at Allahabad.

The family into which Madan Mohan Malaviya was born belonged to the Chaturvedi branch and was of the Bharadwaja Gotra. His great-grand-father, Vishnu Prasad had five sons. The eldest son Premdhar, the grandfather of Madan Mohan, was a distinguished devotee of Lord Krishna. He was famous for his discourses on the Bhagavata. He had four sons. Brij Nath, the father of Madan Mohan was the youngest son. Pandit Brij Nath studied Sanskrit with his father and developed his talents. He started giving discourses on Bhagavata even at the early age of twenty five and within a short time became a famous and popular full-fledged 'Vyas'. Endowed with a charming personality, a melodious voice and a passion for music and having cultivated a deep devotion of Lord Krishna, and by his profound learning and knowledge, and presentations, he made his discourses absorbingly interesting, which earned him the respect and patronage of the Maharajas of Banaras, Rewa and Durbhanga.

Brij Nath had six sons and two daughters. Madan Mohan was born after two sons and two daughters as the third son. Madan Mohan's mother Moona Devi was a worthy helpmate of her husband. She was exceptionally large-hearted, always eager to serve and ever ready to run to the assistance of anyone in distress within her reach.

Madan Mohan has borne testimony to the great qualities of his parents. He had been trained by his parents to follow

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the rules of conduct prescribed in the scriptures. Madan Mohan was deeply influenced by their religious and god-loving nature, their simple way of life, and kindness to everyone.

Madan Mohan himself had in all twelve children of whom four sons and three daughters lived to attain maturity. His eldest son Pandit Ramakant Malaviya took the B.A. and L.L.B. degrees from Allahabad University. He started practice and became a leading Vakil of the Allahabad High Court. After some time he was appointed Judge of the High Court of Udaipur. He left that the next year and became Diwan of Sirohi state. He was Treasurer of Banaras Hindu University from December 1939 till his death in April 1943.

The second son Pandit Radhakant Malaviya also took the B.A. and LL.B. degrees from Allahabad University and became a Vakil.

The third son Pandit Gauri Kant Malaviya (also called Mukund) graduated from the Muir Central College and engaged in business at Allahabad, Kanpur and Bombay.

The youngest of his sons was Pandit Govind Malaviya who took the M.A. and L.L.B. degrees from Banaras Hindu University. He was engaged in business as Managing Director of Birla's New Insurance Ltd. He was Vice-Chancellor of Banaras Hindu University for a term in 1948-1951 after a short tenure of the office of Pro-Vice-Chancellor in 1947-1948.

Malaviyaji's eldest daughter, Rukmini was married to Sri Devakinandan Bhatt of Banaras. The second daughter Rameshwari Devi was the wife of Sri Madan Gopal Malaviya of Kanpur. The youngest daughter Malti was the wife of Sri Rama Shankar Bhatt of Banaras.

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CHAPTER V

EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION

Madan Mohan Malaviya's early years were spent in a small house. This ancestral house was shared by his father and four uncles. The total number of his brothers, sisters and cousins were more than a dozen. He was himself very fair and handsome. As a child he was playful and carefree. He was very fond of playing 'Kabaddi', 'Gulli-danda' and other common games. At the same time he grew up to be a dutiful son and was eager to serve his parents. He accompanied his father to the places where the latter gave discourses on Srimad Bhagavata and listened to them attentively. He memorized many slokas by just listening. He started to pay visits to temples. Once his father complimented him by saying that he was a great Bhakta (Devotee).

Malaviyaji had his early education in Pandit Hardevji's Dharmajnanopadesh Pathashala. There he learnt by heart many slokas of Manusmruti, Gita and other holy books. He considered these along with similar slokas learnt from his father to be the real wealth of his life (Mula Dhan). Pandit Hardevji maintained a few cows to provide milk for himself and his pupils. He had a strong belief that only a healthy body would have a healthy mind and healthy thoughts. Therefore he laid a lot of emphasis

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on physical exercises. He made the students practice wrestling. Pandit Hardevji often gave discourses on Sanatan Dharma near the Chowk and used to take Madan Mohan with him.

After studying in Hardevji's Pathashala, Madan Mohan was sent to the Pathashala of Vidya Dharma Prabodhini Sabha. The Principal of that school Pandit Devakinandan wanted to make Madan Mohan an efficient orator. He took Madan Mohan with him on the occasion of Magh Mela in 1869 and there asked him to deliver a public lecture. Madan Mohan, then a mere seven year old, fully engrossed in the effort and without fear, recited Sanskrit verses for one hour. It was a brilliant and praiseworthy performance. The seeds of religion were sown in his young mind and even at that age of seven he could address big gatherings with an ease and elegance that cast a magical spell on his listeners.

Madan Mohan's Upanayanam was performed when he was nine years of age. He was then admitted in the District High School where he studied while continuing his Sanskrit education. His brother Jai Krishna was also a student of this school. He was six years elder to Madan Mohan, and the two brothers went to school together. The tuition fee was very minimal. Madan Mohan had to pay only six paisa and his brother three annas a month.

This school was started under a European head master and enforced European standards of discipline. Madan Mohan's was an orthodox family. This led to many difficulties in his daily life at school. The school began at mid-morning. Students had to have breakfast early in the forenoon to be in time for attendance at school. As this was not possible in an orthodox

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household, Madan Mohan had to eat food kept aside for him the previous day as his breakfast, to be at school in time in the morning.

He also had difficulty in respect of drinking water provided by the school. He used to seek permission to go home and drink water. At times this was denied to him. Therefore his family kept one brass tumbler in the school which the waterman, a servant of his family, cleaned regularly and filled with water for Madan Mohan to drink.

Another difficulty he faced was lack of space for study at home. It was not possible to secure a quiet corner for serious study in a crowded small house. He therefore, used to go to the garden of Lala Sohan Lal which had a cottage and well, and it was a ten minute walk to get there. After dinner, he used to go there with his books and a lantern and study there along with his classmates. Sometimes he spent the night there itself. He was brilliant in his studies and gave a lot of attention to his handwriting which was both legible and beautiful.

Madan Mohan's cousin Pandit Jayagovind was a great scholar in Sanskrit. Madan Mohan learnt Sanskrit from him. He studied the entire 'Kashika' (Sanskrit grammar book) from him, and never needed to do a revision. He was not a bookworm and never had to revise any subject, after just one reading. He had a good memory and became a great orator due to his retentive power and intellect. Dr. Radhakrishnan said, in later years, that Malaviyaji was the greatest orator in both Hindi and English.

Madan Mohan was very conscious of maintaining impeccable manners and high standards of morals, conduct and

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character, and everyday habits of food and living. He followed a strict diet regiment in respect of time and type. He avoided even sitting on anyone else's bed. He never touched liquor, and avoided even tea. He adopted a simple mode of dress, which he maintained till his death.

At the age of sixteen, he married Kundan Devi, the third and youngest daughter of Pandit Nand Ram. Kundan Devi was not highly educated, but was good in Hindi and could read the Bhagavadgita. The marriage took place in 1878, a few months before he took the Entrance examination which in those days was equivalent to the 10^{th} standard or the Matriculation examination of later times. After passing that examination, he obtained admission into the Muir Central College, Allahabad.

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CHAPTER VI

HIGHER EDUCATION

Muir Central College was housed in Lowther Castle. A modest building was situated to the north of Government House and east of the Public Library. The College had eminent staff with hardly a hundred students on its rolls. Mr. Augustus Harrison was the Principal and Mr. W. H. Wright was professor of English. Sri Aditya Ram Bhattacharya and Mr. Zakaullah of the college were both profound scholars and inspiring teachers. They were later decorated with the titles of Mahamahopadhyaya and Shams-ul-ulama respectively.

Madan Mohan joined the Muir Central College in 1879 for his degree in Arts. He was married before he joined the college. He remained in the college for five years from 1879 to 1883 in preparation for his B.A. degree. He passed the intermediate (then called F. A.) in 1880, and graduated in 1884. Madan Mohan's success as a student lay in two facts. First, he was a voracious reader with a sharp memory and secondly, he had an interest in several varied activities. He devoted time regularly to physical exercises. He carried on higher studies in Sanskrit. He practiced to perfection the arts of elocution and debate. He participated in literary societies debates. He acted in dramas. He started doing social service.

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His classmates were amazed at his restless activities and impressed by his personality. Madan Mohan was an enthusiastic member of the College debating society, called the Friend's Debating Society. He made his first English speech before this society, which was much praised. His speech was so impressive that Mr. Augustus Harrison, the Principal of the college, not only made his education free, but also started to give him a monthly scholarship.

Madan Mohan was also interested in acting in dramas. Allahabad had an amateur dramatic society called the Arya Natak Mandali. He was once called on to play the role of the heroine of Kalidasa's Sakuntalam. His superb acting won loud applause, particularly when he appeared on the stage as Sakuntala having a pitcher in hand. His handsome features and sweet voice were perfectly suited for that role. He acted as Portia in Shakespeare's 'Merchant of Venice' staged at the Muir Central College on Vasant Panchami Day in 1882. The Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court who was in the audience is said to have been so pleased that he went up to the stage to offer his congratulations at the end of the performance as reported in *The Sunday Leader*.

In the Muir Central College, Malaviyaji had the good fortune to come into close contact with Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Aditya Ram Bhattacharya, Professor of Sanskrit, who was like an *acharya* of the ancient Indian tradition. He had a great hand in molding the life of Malaviyaji.

In 1880, the efforts of Pandit Aditya Ram Bhattacharya brought about the establishment of the Hindu Samaj at Allahabad, the first political organization in the city and Pandit

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Aditya Ram Bhattacharya had Malaviyaji admitted to it as a member even though he was still an undergraduate student in the college. He became a leading worker of the Samaj which was primarily concerned with social reform. Thus began his social work even while prosecuting his studies.

It may be noted here that a new social, political and economic consciousness was developing in the country at that time. The Brahma Samaj under the leadership of Keshab Chandra Sen was spreading its tenets far and wide. Swami Dayanand Saraswati founded the Arya Samaj in the year 1875 and kindled the national spirit in the country. In Bombay, the Prarthana Samaj, the Social Reform movement and the Industrial movement under the leadership of Mahadeva Govind Ranade were awakening the people to bring about a social and religious regeneration. In the South, the Theosophical movement had started gaining strength and the Theosophical Society established its Head-quarters at Adyar, Madras in the year 1882. The Society proclaimed the value of Indian thought and the priceless heritage of the Indian people. It pointed out the value of Hindu teachings, and held up the Vedas and the Upanishads as the glory of India and made Indians realize that the Hindu scriptures were not the babblings of children or the fancies of savages but were the foundation of a monumental system of thought showing the glory of the past and guiding the life of the future.

The message of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa also helped in bringing about a synthesis of the Eastern and Western civilizations. He saw in every sect the same spirit working, the same God, and that God in every being. His heart wept for the

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poor, for the weak, for the downtrodden, for everyone in this world, both within India and outside India. His teachings inspired a new light, reaching across to all humanity.

All these movements were tending to bring about a National renaissance in every field-social, educational, cultural, religious, spiritual, and also political. In Allahabad, Madan Mohan Malaviya was really getting prepared, under the able guidance of Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Aditya Ram Bhattacharya for discharging his duty towards his motherland by restoring her pristine glory.

Muir Central College was affiliated at that time to the University of Calcutta. Malaviyaji graduated from the University of Calcutta in 1884. He then joined the M.A. classes but the poor financial condition of his family compelled him to leave the college soon. He accepted an appointment as a teacher in the Government High School at Allahabad.

It may be noted that high education and close association with European teachers did not change his mode of life. He renounced the use of foreign goods at the age of twenty. From 1881 he used articles manufactured in India only. He stuck to his earlier traditional dress except that he started wearing a pyjama instead of a dhoti. He gave up the four cornered skull cap and started using a turban. He wore a silk scarf around his neck with its ends falling on either side to below the knees. This mode of dress remained with him for the rest of his active life.

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CHAPTER VII

SCHOOL MASTER

After obtaining the B.A. degree, Madan Mohan Malaviya joined the college again to continue his studies for the M.A. degree in Sanskrit under the guidance of Professor Aditya Ram Bhattacharya. His desire to study for the M.A. degree, could not be fulfilled due to domestic circumstances. Ram Naresh Tripathy writes in his book "Tees din-Pujya Malaviyaji ke sath" how Malaviyaji once confided to Birla his yearning to take the M.A. degree in Sanskrit and how he occasionally expressed his intention of doing so.

At the age of forty four, when one has to take up the complete responsibility of bringing up the family and face commitments in life, Malaviyaji's father was crippled and became immobile. Due to this he could not move to distant places and had to confine his professional activities to the neighbouring areas. The Royal patronage he was enjoying from Princes and Zamindars started declining because of his limitations, and resulted in loss of his earnings.

Realizing the situation, Malaviyaji's cousin Jai Govind, who was very much attached to the family, and himself working as a Sanskrit teacher in the Government High School, suggested Malaviyaji to take up service, but Malaviyaji was not willing to

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discontinue his studies and enter service. However, he was moved by the silent appeal made by his mother with moist eyes, to come to the rescue of his family. He submitted and gave up his education much against the wishes of his professor, who however, realized Malaviyaji's predicament.

Malaviyaji joined as a teacher of English in the Government High School, an institution which he left as a student six years ago. Because of his exceptional teaching capacity and ability to communicate, and total involvement in imparting knowledge, his salary was raised from Rs 40/- to Rs. 60/- per month within two months of his joining the school. The value of Rs. 60/- per month in those days could be assessed from the price level of many common items, for day to day living. Reference to price of a few items is given below to enable the reader to visualize the situation:

'A pound of good mutton cost one anna, a pound of table rice half an anna; two hen's eggs one quarter anna; a seer of pure fresh milk one anna ; a pound of butter four annas; a pound of fish one anna; a seer of potatoes half anna'[1]. In those days one rupee was equal to sixteen annas and one anna was equal to twelve pai.

Malaviyaji maintained high ethical and moral standards of life, as evidenced by the following incident. During an examination he caught a student copying and reported the same to the authorities for punishment, despite the warning of co-teachers that the student concerned was of a hostile nature and rowdy type who might do him physical harm. His colleagues also advised him, that, for not getting into any

1. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1956, p. 406

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Malaviya Assistant Master, Government High School

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harm he should take a conveyance while coming to school instead of coming by foot as he usually did. The school was situated close to the Clock Tower in Chowk and was barely a ten minute walk from his house. He ignored their advise and stuck to his routine.

As a teacher, he was committed to imparting knowledge to the students. Once Malaviyaji said, "I started teaching English with a lot of love and effort. While preparing the lessons regularly at home, I would find out the origin (Etymology) for every important English word. For this work I used to study the books entitled 'Biography of English words' and 'English - past and present'. This enabled me to get familiar with the history, etymology and the basic meaning of English words. I acquired knowledge from many books, which I would pass on to all the students. My life as a teacher was pleasant and happy. I had a contented life as a teacher and was fully involved in my teaching."

Madan Mohan Malaviya was therefore a very successful teacher. It is said that his affectionate and kind attitude, soft behaviour, sweet voice and attractive personality had a lot of influence on the students. By this he earned the respect of all. He was also a disciplinarian. He used to advise the students, that they should do their duty firmly and without fear. This advise had a special influence on the students.

Along with his teaching profession he carried on with social activities as a leading worker of Hindu Samaj. In 1885 when the Indian National Congress came into existence, the Hindu Samaj was re-oriented as a provincial organization under the new name Madhya Hindu Samaj. It became one of the

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recognized political bodies by whom delegates were elected to attend the annual sessions of the Indian National Congress. It was during his career as a teacher that he was elected as a delegate to attend the second Session of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta in December 1886. His participation in the Calcutta Session paved the way for his involvement in the political and social work, a turning point in the life and career of Malaviyaji.

He had a hereditary leaning to the teaching profession and had a dislike for law. Nevertheless, he could understand that his admirers and well wishers saw his priceless talent should be pursued in law rather than being wasted in the docile teaching profession. Most of them wanted to see him established and become popular in legal profession. They thought that legal profession is the necessary support of a political career. Among these well wishers were Mr. Hume, Pandit Ajudhia Nath and Pandit Sundar Lal. Raja Rampal Singh of Kalakankar who was also of the same mind took an early opportunity of enlisting him in the service of journalism as an interim step.

Malaviyaji's urge to get into the activities of Madhya Hindu Samaj and his involvement in social and political activities soon overtook his desire to continue as a teacher, in order to build a new career. He therefore resigned his post of teacher in the Government High School, Allahabad, in 1887, and took up the social and political activities and became an active member of Indian National Congress.

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CHAPTER VIII

POLITICAL WORK (from the year 1880)

Allahabad, before being made the capital of the North West Provinces and Oudh, was more of a garrison town and cantonment city. With the establishment of the Muir Central College and the High Court, Allahabad became a seat of learning and a centre for political and social activities. The leading lawyers of the province like Pandit Bishambhar Nath and Ajudhia Nath who had practiced before in the Sadar Adalat at Agra migrated to Allahabad on the inauguration of the High Court in 1866. They, together with Professor Aditya Ram Bhattacharya of Muir Central College, laid the foundation for the political life in the city.

It may be noted that during that period, missionaries and other Government bodies were preaching and propagating their ideals and religion, and at the same time ridiculing the Hindu culture and way of life. These activities of the missionaries had an impact on the social and cultural strength of the Hindus. To put an end to this the "Hindu Samaj", the first political organization was established in 1880 by Professor Aditya Ram Bhattacharya and others. Professor Aditya Ram Bhattacharya

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admitted Madan Mohan Malaviya as a member of the Hindu Samaj even though, as stated earlier, he was still an undergraduate at the Muir Central College at that time.

In Allahabad, while still in college, Madan Mohan Malaviya was actively involved in the Hindu Samaj activities, delivering speeches at important places and localities. His speeches were inspiring and awakened the need to reform and for people to uplift themselves in society, and to maintain the rich tradition and culture of the country. The Hindu Samaj was primarily concerned with safeguarding the interests of the Hindu community, and their culture and bringing out social reforms for the uplift of the Hindus. In 1885, just before the holding of Indian National Congress, due to the serious communal riot between Hindus and Muslims that took place, the Hindu Samaj was re-oriented as a provincial organization with the new name Madhya Hindu Samaj with more emphasis on social and political commitments in their agenda.

The Madhya Hindu Samaj was inaugurated with a three-day gala function at the Banaras Raj Palace on the banks of river Yamuna at Allahabad. This was attended by people from the upper provinces also. The new organization continued with the programme of Hindu Samaj, with emphasis on social and political activities. It sought to unite the Hindus of different castes and regions, to promote education in their mother tongue, to eliminate social abuses and to represent the needs and wishes of Hindus. The Madhya Hindu Samaj became one of the recognized political bodies by whom delegates were elected to attend the annual sessions of the Indian National Congress.

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POLITICAL WORK

Professor Aditya Ram Bhattacharya took a leading part in establishing the Hindu Samaj in 1880 and four years later, the Madhya Hindu Samaj. Malaviyaji became an active worker in both these organizations. On his own effort and initiative Malaviyaji started the *'Hindi Uddharani Sabha'* (Society for the resuscitation of Hindi) and held frequent meetings to discuss the merit and richness of literary works in Hindi and to promote the development of such work.

The most significant of Malviyaji's public activities during his student days was his participation in the presentation of an address to the retiring Viceroy, Lord Ripon. This was part of an enthusiastic nation-wide movement which dismayed the Englishmen. Even the European Principal of the Government College, who was kind and indulgent to his gifted pupil, was unhappy and annoyed over his pronounced political leanings. But, this did no harm to Malaviyaji's future.

Another important facet of Malaviyaji while in college was in the field of stage dramas. Stage dramas were quite popular in those days, but lost popularity after the advent of cinema. There was an amateur dramatic society in Allahabad called *'Arya Nataka Mandali'*, with the elite and aristocratic people as members. It may be recalled here that Madan Mohan Malaviya who had an aptitude for acting and all the features of an actor, had played the heroine's role in Kalidasa's play *'Shakuntalam'* staged under the auspices of the society and won loud applause.

His association with the stage continued for sometime and helped him in preparation for a political career. He realized that political dramas on stage could be tools of political

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propaganda as happened in Bengal. Keeping this in mind, plays were scripted and designed to promote purely patriotic sentiments. Many plays were staged awakening the rights of the Hindus and deploring the oppression practiced by the British. The 'Dramatic Performance Control Act' was passed in 1886 to keep a watch against the spread of dissatisfaction through this medium. Drama was thus ranked equal with the press as a political force.

Malaviyaji composed two dramatic pieces in a lighter vein during this period of his life. These were the burlesques *'Gentleman'* and *'Jhakkar Singh'* parodying respectively the self-opinionated product of English education and the swaggering townsmen. These problems were later presented with all seriousness.

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CHAPTER IX

DEBUT IN CONGRESS (DEC. 1886) 2ND SESSION

It was during Malaviyaji's career as teacher that he first attended the Indian National Congress and literally took it by storm. The Congress had been started in 1885 by Indian patriots under the guidance of Alan Octavian Hume, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service and with the blessings of the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin. Government viewed it as a convenient means of ascertaining the current state of the public mind. Government servants were therefore not debarred from attending the session.

In the second session of the Congress held at Calcutta in December 1886, there were 74 delegates from the territory now comprised of Uttar Pradesh (old North Western Provinces and Oudh) of whom, seven including Malaviyaji and his preceptor Aditya Ram Bhattacharya, were representatives of Allahabad Town. Both of them at that time were Government Servants. Aditya Ram Bhattacharya was a Professor in the Muir Central College and Malaviyaji was a teacher in the Government High School, Allahabad. During those early years of the national movement, Government servants were not forbidden from taking part in politics or writing to newspapers.

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There was great enthusiasm amongst the delegates and the public when the session commenced on the 28th of December 1886 with Dadabhai Naoroji as president. The great scholar and antiquarian, Rajendra Lal Mitra, was the chairman of the Reception committee. On the fourth day of the session, a resolution relating to representative government was moved by Surendra Nath Banerjea, the great national leader and orator. After the speeches of many delegates, Madan Mohan Malaviya, perhaps at the instance of Aditya Ram Bhattacharya stood up on a chair beside the President with his permission and delivered an oration which captivated everyone in the audience. Annie Besant wrote about the oration as follows:-

> "Then came Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, making his maiden speech in the Congress and fairly carrying his audience away with the eloquence which has ever since been at India's service."

The following passages are quoted from his speech:

> "After the very able and eloquent speeches to which you have already listened, it may seem almost superfluous to add anything as to the expediency, as to the necessity, of the reform contemplated in the fourth resolution. It seems, however, necessary to show to the Government and to the public at large that it is not only by the people of a certain limited portion of the country that the principle of Representative Government is understood and approved, but that in every presidency and province, of this vast Indian continent, the people equally appreciate it and are equally anxious for its introduction into the administration. Delegates from Calcutta, Bombay, Madras,

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Patna, Fyzabad and Dera Ismail Khan of Dacca, have already endorsed this fact.

"It is not to the great British Government that we need demonstrate the utility, the expediency, the necessity of this great reform. It might have been necessary to support our petition for this boon with such a demonstration, if we were governed by some despotic monarch, zealous of the duties but ignorant and careless of the rights of subjects, but it is surely unnecessary to say one word in support of such a cause to the British Government or the British Nation, to the descendants of these brave and great men who fought and died to obtain for themselves and preserve intact for their children those very institutions which, taught by their example, we now crave, who spent their whole lives and shed their hearts' blood so freely in maintaining and developing this cherished principle.

"What is an Englishman without representative institutions? Why, not an Englishman at all, a mere sham, a base imitation, and I often wonder as I look round at our nominally English Magnates, how they have the face to call themselves Englishmen and yet deny us representative institutions, and struggle to maintain despotic ones. Representative institutions are as much part of the true Briton as his language and his literature. Will any one tell me that Great Britain will, in cold blood, deny us, her free-born subjects, the first of these, when, by the gift of the latter, she has qualified us to appreciate and incited us to desire it?

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"No taxation without representation. That is the first commandment in the Englishman's Political Bible. How can he falter with his conscience and tax us here, his free and educated fellow-subjects, as if we were dumb sheep or cattle? But we are not dumb any longer. India has found a voice at last in this great Congress, and in it and through it, we call on England to be true to her traditions, her instincts, and herself, and grant us our rights as free born citizens."

The *Statesman* of Calcutta paid a tribute to the high level of the debates at the Congress as a whole, saying that the Congress was composed of men "to whom we can point with pride as the outcome of a century of our rule."

Surendra Nath Banerjea was so much pleased with the speech of the young Malaviyaji that he recorded his observation as follows:-

"————————He (Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya) was so young that he had to be lifted up on a chair in order that the audience might have an opportunity of having a look at him. He had a fascinating appearance but the audience was more charmed by the eloquence of the youthful orator than by his good looks; and that speech, one of the best that I have heard, made a deep impression upon the minds of the Congress gathering and pointed him out as one of the future leaders of the Congress movement."

A. O. Hume, the Father of the Congress, in his report of that session, recorded as follows:

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"But perhaps the speech that was most enthusiastically received was made by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, a high caste Brahmin, whose fair complexion and delicately chiseled features, instinct with intellectuality at once impressed every eye, and who suddenly jumping up on a chair beside the president, poured a manifestly impromptu speech with an energy and eloquence, that carried everything before him."

This superb performance which has been aptly described by Natesan, in 'Introduction to Malaviyaji's speeches' as an excellent example of the *argumentum ad hominem* won him many friends and admirers and turned the course of Malaviyaji's career. Raja Rampal Singh of Kalakankar who also attended the session, sought him out and appointed him editor of his journal, the "*Hindustan*".

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CHAPTER X

IN JOURNALISM

The masses were largely unaware of the aims and objectives of the Sepoy Mutiny which was therefore crushed easily by the Government. Akbar Allahabadi's witty couplet made people realize the value and importance of the press. People were convinced that an armed rebellion of the masses without modern weapons could be easily resisted and controlled by the Government with artillery and other sophisticated weapons.

"Draw not the sword nor bend the bow,
When faced with cannon, bring out a newspaper."

This is a translation of the couplet in Hindi as below:

खींचो न कमानों को न तलवार निकालो।
जब तोप मुकाबिल हो तो अखबार निकालो॥

Large quantities of arms and ammunition were seized from the people after the rebellion. Carrying weapon was prohibited. Emasculation of the people was carried further by the enactment of a law in 1878, which restricted keeping of weapons by the people. The importance of the press began to be felt, through which popular grievances and opposition to Government policies were raised. Even though Legislative Councils had been established, they were till 1909, more or

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less inactive and ineffective and the non-official members were only magnificent non-entities. It was felt that a press without freedom of expression was more or less a 'gilded sham' and became ineffective.

Free press was therefore the only mass medium for expression of public opinion by which the spirited and patriotic citizens and national leaders could influence public policy and measures and also expose the Government policies working against the freedom movement of nation. Fortunately the press in India was free because of the removal of the restriction on the liberty and freedom of the press by Charles Metcafe (Governor-General) through his vision and liberality. Restrictions were imposed only in emergencies like the Great Mutiny and Afghan war.

Malaviyaji realized the vital importance of the press and the effect on the people. His interest in it was sustained throughout his life. He founded two newspapers of his own, edited or assisted in the editing of quite a few papers, and also helped starting many more papers. Even while he was at the height of power and popularity, and also as a member of the Central Legislative Assembly as an organization to influence the Government or to criticize their action, Malaviyaji felt that the best means of educating popular opinion and mobilizing support for movements was journalism. In his own words, in 1929 he expressed his faith in the efficacy of journalism on the occasion of the installation of a rotary press in the new premises of the Leader, as follows:-

"I do not know of any institution, neither school, nor college nor University – which supplies such daily

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instruction to the public at large as a newspaper. We felt that the Province would be best served if there was a daily paper not merely to expound the opinions which were entertained by educated Indians but also to guide them and to educate public opinion."

Malaviyaji was initiated into journalism by his teacher and mentor Aditya Ram Bhattacharya. During the 1857 Mutiny, Muslims had taken a more prominent part than Hindus, and hence were more severely punished and repressed. However, there was a shift in the policy of the Government towards Muslims after 1870, and many favours and importance were given to the Muslims. Mahmud Manzil, a big house, was constructed and given to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, hoping that such actions would help remove the misunderstanding of the Muslims and win their support to the Government policies, ultimately to consolidate the British Empire. The shift of the Government from hatred to affection for the Muslims clearly showed the opportunistic attitude of the Government to consolidate and strengthen itself, particularly at a time when a nationalistic movement by leading Hindus was gaining popularity.

The changed policy of the Government towards Muslims took shape at Allahabad in 1870. The Hindus were very sore and totally dissatisfied with the shift in the Government policy towards Muslims, as they feared this will develop into a close alliance against the nationalistic movement which was led by educated Hindus and Parsees, and would also develop hatred between Hindus and Muslims.

As an outcome of the new Government policy in 1882, when Malaviyaji was a student in Allahabad, a Muslim was

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appointed as the manager of the Khumba Mela a grand fair of the Hindus. A number of Muslim officials were also mismanaging the funds and were not helpful to the pilgrims. This kindled the wrath of the Hindu leaders against the Government. Aditya Ram Bhattacharya and his elder brother Beni Madhav lead an agitation against this and wrote a series of letters condemning the Government's action, in the journal 'Pioneer'. The agitation succeeded and a Hindu was appointed as the manager of the Mela in the years that followed. Though the agitators succeeded in their effort, they faced a lot of trouble from the Government, and Beni Madhav, who led the agitation, was falsely implicated in a criminal case, purely on a personal matter, and he had to suffer the indignity of being placed in a lock up, and the grant of bail being delayed. When the case was proved malicious and malafide in the High Court, it was transferred to a court of the Mirzapur district and ended in acquittal. It cost the Bhattacharyas five thousand rupees, besides physical and mental strain. The Government made amends for the harassment and indignity by appointing Beni Madhav as honorary Magistrate and he was elected to the Municipal Board. This incident made a deep mark in the mind of Malaviyaji and pushed him towards journalism.

Malaviyaji became the editor of the weekly journal '*The Indian Union*' started by Aditya Ram Bhattacharya. Though there was a change in the ownership of the journal due to the takeover by Pandit Ajudia Nath, Malaviyaji continued his participation in its production till Pandit Ajudia Nath's death in 1892 when it was merged with the '*Advocate*', a journal brought out from Lucknow.

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Malaviyaji's professional career as a journalist lasted for about two and half years. During 1887 to 1889 Malaviyaji worked as joint editor of '*Hindustan*' a Hindi weekly founded and run by Raja Rampal Singh of Kalakankar, a noble patriot, who contributed a lot in building up the personality of Malaviyaji. Both the Raja and Malaviyaji were staunch nationalists and committed to the cause of freedom and liberty of the Indian people. Both the Raja and Malaviyaji had a lot of similarities which bonded their relationship and understanding strongly, but more than that, were complementary to one another in respect of qualities each lacked. They never feared to express their dissatisfaction on the system of administration by the Government. The Raja started a weekly newspaper in Hindi and English while he was in England called '*Hindustan*' in order to enlighten the British people about the state of affairs in India. On his return to India in 1885, the Raja started to publish the '*Hindustan*' from Kalakankar, as a Hindi weekly edited by him.

During the inauguration of the '*Madhya Hindu Samaj*' at Allahabad, the Raja was a prominent participant. However his frequent intervention during the president's speech was disliked by the audience and was not appreciated by the guests and Malaviyaji made bold to express a mild protest to the Raja. Later, while publishing the proceedings of the meeting, the Raja did criticize Malaviyaji as an immature youngster, for his behaviour at the meeting. The association with the Raja, thus started taking a sour note, but later during the second session of Indian National Congress at Calcutta in 1886, after hearing Malaviyaji's memorable maiden speech, the Raja developed a soft corner for Malaviyaji, ultimately building up to a close

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rapport between them. At the conclusion of Malaviyaji's speech, the Raja sought out Malaviyaji and presented him with money, as a token of admiration and appreciation.

Six months later, the Raja offered Malaviyaji the job of co-editorship of the Hindi weekly '*Hindustan*' on a salary of Rs.150/- per month, and subsequently within a fortnight raised it to Rs.200/- per month. Malaviyaji resigned his post as a teacher and took up the job as a co-editor of '*Hindustan*'. Malaviyaji moved his residence to Kalakankar in 1887, to enable him to give more attention and involvement in the paper. Every Sunday Malaviyaji took a holiday which he spent with his family at Allahabad, doing the journey by boat on the Ganga which he boarded at Manikpur. The Raja himself edited the Sunday issue.

As an editor, Malaviyaji brought in lot of improvements in the paper, and also developed great advances in Hindi journalism. The '*Hindustan*' became a Hindi daily newspaper, and achieved many firsts in the field of journalism and publication. Malaviyaji wrote critical editorial and informative articles. Also featured in the daily paper were literary pieces in prose and poetry, enriching the paper. The '*Hindustan*' featured some of the best literary works of leading Hindi poets and writers of that time. The paper had the courage to work for the cause of popularizing Hindi as against Urdu, which was not only prevalent and strongly enriched in official use but had the support of the powerful Aligarh school of thought.

Under the patronage of the Raja, the '*Hindustan*' attracted many of the leading lights in Hindi literature to Kalakankar. This place witnessed the dawn of the public career of Malaviyaji. He maintained a high profile and standard of production in the

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'*Hindustan*', which was considered to be extraordinary for a Hindi daily. He got himself involved right from proof correction to selecting the editorial matter, and at the same time careful even in selecting advertisements to exclude matters repugnant to his high moral sense and ethics. The '*Hindustan*' hitherto was using extensively the local or 'Baiswari' form of words and captions, but under the editorship of Malaviyaji, the '*Hindustan*' adopted the use of standard common form of Hindi or 'Khariboli' in its news items which definitely created a narrative and critical style of prose, setting up a stage for Hindi to become a National language. Malaviyaji used simple Hindi in his editorials and particularly avoided over-Sanskritization. He would write अचरज not आश्चर्य and यतन not यत्न. The 'Hindustan', soon became a popular Hindi daily and its circulation rose rapidly to about 500. Malaviyaji's moderate approach was accepted and acknowledged by the local Government, which started subscribing for the paper regularly.

The journal was highly supportive to the cause of the Indian National Congress, by propagating its ideals and principles. It created wide awareness in public life in the upper province where the '*Hindustan*' was widely circulated. This culminated in the province sending a large contingent of delegates from this area to the Indian National Congress session in 1886 and 1887, held respectively in Calcutta and Madras.

Malaviyaji's meteoric career as a professional journalist, coincided only in point of time, with that of the celebrated journalist of that period Rudyard Kipling. The two were similar in intelligence, but totally different in their approach. Malaviyaji worked hard day and night to edit the daily '*Hindustan*' in

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Hindi, covering all aspects of news publication, whereas Kipling, whose responsibility as editor of the weekly '*Pioneer Mail*' was confined to preparation of a weekly edition of the paper for the British public at home, provided enough leisure time to write witty verses to portray the lighter side of the Anglo-Indian society.

Malaviyaji, though very close to the Raja and very much liked by him, made it very clear to him, while accepting the offer as editor of '*Hindustan*' that he should be allowed to maintain his orthodox Brahmin attitude in food and habits and should not be asked to meet the Raja when he was drunk. This specific condition was accepted by the Raja. However, once by mistake Raja summoned Malaviyaji, when under the influence of alcohol. He then made disparaging remarks in abusive language in respect of Pandit Ajudhia Nath, whom Malaviyaji regarded in high esteem. Malaviyaji was totally upset by these remarks of the Raja, and unable to tolerate them, decided to quit his job and informed Raja accordingly. Raja was totally shaken up, and despite his pleas and requests to the point of surrendering and seeking forgiveness, Malaviyaji stuck to his decision and never yielded to Raja's request. Finding no other way to convince Malaviyaji, the Raja exhorted him to study for the Bachelor of Laws, and fulfil his dream of becoming a lawyer. The Raja also offered to pay Malaviyaji Rs.100/- per month to enable him to continue his legal studies. Even after completing his Law course, the remittance of Rs.100/- from Raja continued and Malaviyaji wrote to him that this practice be stopped as he had now set up practice. He repeated the request when they met and the Raja's reply as narrated by Malaviyaji was as follows ....

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"Malaviyaji, how is it that you speak of being in or out of my employ? In my dealings with you did you ever find anything resembling the relations of employer and employee? You have learning, you are a mine of qualities, you fulfil one of my cherished desires, and I assist you with a small sum of money. What then is the obligation I confer on you? I am pained to hear such a thing from a person of your high intellect."

Malaviyaji retained his esteem for the Raja, remembering his personality and patriotism and acknowledged the high regard that the Raja had of him.

After giving up the editorship of the '*Hindustan*', Malaviyaji concentrated on preparing for Bachelor of Laws degree, and studied law in the Muir Central College. However, he continued his interest in journalism by taking up the work of editing the journal '*Indian Union*' along with Baldeo Ram Dave. This paper was originally started by Aditya Ram Bhattacharya and was later on taken over by Pandit Ajudhia Nath, and was published from Allahabad, till 1892 when it was amalgamated with the '*Advocate*' of Lucknow, after the death of Pandit Ajudhia Nath.

Sachchidanand Sinha, a boyhood friend of Malaviyaji, and a leading lawyer practising in Bihar, moved to Allahabad to practice in the High Court in 1896 and renewed his acquaintance with Malaviyaji. He too was deeply interested and involved in journalism; as a result, he successfully launched two journals with Malaviyaji's active support, a monthly journal '*Hindustan Review*' in July, 1899 and a weekly journal '*Indian People*' in January 1903. The '*Indian People*' later on became a semi-weekly in June 1904, and after a successful publication for

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over five years, transformed itself into a high standard daily with a new name called '*Leader*' on 24th October 1909. Needless to say, this growth was possible mainly due to the involvement and active participation of Malaviyaji in bringing out the daily. Meanwhile Malaviyaji brought out a Hindi weekly entirely of his own in 1907, called '*Abhyudaya*'.

Malaviyaji became a member of the Provincial Legislative Council in November 1902. The need to make the Provincial Legislative Council larger and with greater peoples' representation was gaining momentum. Meanwhile he started a movement for establishing a Hindu University, and wanted to be free to give more attention and effort to the University project. For this, he felt the need of starting a journal through which his political work could go on without interruption. This came through two journals i.e. the '*Abhyudaya*', a Hindi weekly in 1907 and the '*Leader*', a weekly in 1909.

The Hindi weekly, named '*Abhyudaya*' as suggested by Balakrishna Bhatt was inaugurated on Vasant Panchami day in 1907. The main object was to strengthen the views of the Moderate group in the Congress, which was challenged by the Extremist elements in the Calcutta session. He was very keen that students should refrain from entering active politics, though they should be fully aware of the current political developments. He hoped that he would be able to achieve this by bringing out the Hindi journal. Malaviyaji edited it for two years till he was elected as a member of the reformed Indian Legislative Council in 1909. Though the editorship was passed on to able and successful men, Malaviyaji kept tight vigil and watch on the journal's political, social and ethical views and openly

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expressed his displeasure over views published in the journal wherever he felt the need. He also discouraged the use of Urdu verses in the journal.

Malaviyaji was very keen to make '*Abhyudaya*' a daily newspaper, but could not achieve his ambition except for a short period during 1915 and again in 1926-27. This was due to the financial constraint faced by the journal and the prevailing political turbulence. In June 1915, '*Abhyudaya*' brought out an enlightened news item on the treatment meted out to black soldiers in South Africa, for which Malaviyaji, in whose name the daily was published, was asked to pay security deposit of Rs.2000/- under the Press Act by the Government. Malaviyaji refused to concede to this and stopped the publication of the daily.

The U.P. Government, under instructions from James Meston withdrew the demand for the security deposit, probably as per the advice of Viceroy Lord Hardinge. Malaviyaji's acknowledgement of the U.P. Government's action of withdrawing the demand for a security deposit was strikingly brief:

> "In the circumstances, when Government has withdrawn the notice served on me, I need say no more than that I thank Sir James Meston. *Abhyudaya* will restart."

Abhyudaya reached its peak in popularity in 1919, when it published the troubles and events in Punjab based on the direct reporting of their special correspondent in Punjab, Kapil Deva Malaviya and its editor Krishna Kant Malaviya. The coverage was exclusively done by their correspondents and no other publication could cover these news items exhaustively. The circulation of *Abhyudaya* touched 11000 but started declining

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shortly thereafter, due to Malaviyaji's disagreement to Gandhi's programme of non-co-operation, which made his politics unpopular.

After a gap of seven years, *Abhyudaya* was brought out once again as a daily, and helped build up Malaviyaji's Independent party started against the Swarajists who were virtually defeated in the election to the Legislatures, and the defeat of the Swarajists was acknowledged by no less a person of Motilal Nehru's stature. The publication of *Abhyudaya* was suspended in 1930 as per the decision of the Congress. However it was restarted very shortly after, as per the wishes of Motilal Nehru, since it was felt that for boosting the Congress movement, they should have a journal and *Abhyudaya* was made to bring out the news covering the events and activities of the Congress.

With both Congress and the Government coming to an agreement and understanding in 1931, prior to the second Round Table Conference, Malaviyaji's desire to make *Abhyudaya* a daily could not be fulfilled. On the contrary, due to repression in 1932 the publication of the paper was stopped and the press was locked by the Government. However, it resumed publication in 1934 but never had a smooth sailing thereafter.

The speech by Krishna Kant Malaviya in the Central Legislative Assembly on Criminal Law Amendment Bill, translated in Hindi was published in *Abhyudaya* despite threats from the Home Member Henry Craik. The Publication in Hindi raised the constitutional question of privilege and was debated in the Assembly and defended by eminent nationalist leaders like Bhulabhai Desai and Jinnah. However, the speaker of the

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Assembly Sir Abdur Rahim ruled that members of the Indian Legislature were not entitled to these privileges.

Abhyudaya was closed for about six months and was reopened on Vijaya Dasami day in 1936. The management was taken over by the newly formed limited company "the Nationalist Newspapers Limited" under the editorship of Padma Kant Malaviya. However, due to his active involvement and participation in the Nationalistic movements, he was placed under detention in May 1940 till the end of the war, though he was let out on parole for a short time during the illness of his father Krishna Kant Malaviya. Soon after his father's death, Padma Kant Malaviya was rearrested in January 1941 and kept in detention till 1945. During this period *Abhyudaya* was run by Indian Press and was issued as a non-political magazine. After his release in 1945 Padma Kant Malaviya purchased the press and the paper from Indian Press which was under liquidation prior to closure. *Abhyudaya* continued publication till 1948, and was finally closed after Padma Kant Malaviya's retirement from public life.

The '*Indian People*' launched by Sachchidananda Sinha, as a weekly in January 1903, later turned into a semi-weekly in June 1904 and continued publication up to October 1909, and was transformed into a English daily called the '*Leader*' on the Vijaya Dasami day viz. 24th October 1909, under the support and favour of Motilal Nehru, who became the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the company. Malaviyaji took over as editor and was ably assisted by Nagendranath Gupta and C.Y. Chintamani. The newspapers '*Indian Opinion*' and '*Indian people*' published by them previously were also merged with '*Leader*'. '*Leader*'

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soon became popular and started subscribing for Reuter's service for foreign news and became the best reported daily in Northern India. It earned a reputation of expressing public opinion in an ethical and moderate way. It also stood for public interest, and fearlessly criticized the Government, wherever and whenever necessary. All these achievements and repute were solely due to the effort of Malaviyaji as its editor.

However, the urge to bring out a daily newspaper of his own before retiring from active politics and the establishment of the University, made him raise the initial capital of Rs. 34000/- with which the paper was started but within a short period it ran into losses and had to be given up despite support from his friends in Banaras. However, the *'Leader'* continued to support the views and policies of Malaviyaji. Meanwhile, the founders of *'Leader'* fell apart in politics over the Montague-Chelmsford reforms. Motilal Nehru became a staunch Congress-man and was determined to follow the course of non-co-operation with the Government and disruption of the new Constitution.

Moderates like Chintamani were loyal and supported Malaviyaji, which annoyed the Congressmen in general and Motilal Nehru in particular who felt that the 'Leader' was no more an impartial journal. This prompted Motilal Nehru to start a paper of his own viz. the *'Independent'* which was edited by great personalities like Syed Hussain, Ranga Iyer etc. Malaviyaji referred to this as follows:

> "There have been times when there have been differences of opinion in politics and you must be prepared

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for differences of opinion between the best of friends and the most ardent of advocates of the country's cause. Even the '*Leader*' has had such periods in its history. You will remember that when the non-cooperation movement came, the '*Independent*' was started by my friend Motilal Nehru, ir. order to present the other view and to press it."

Despite various odds from the Congressmen and members of the legislative bodies, the '*Leader*' prospered and became the most popular daily, and by 1927, it had its own modern building and machineries and soon brought out a Hindi journal called '*Bharat*' in 1929. With the closure of the '*Independent*' in 1923, and the '*Pioneer*', and '*Amrit Bazar Patrika*', not venturing into publication from Allahabad, the '*Leader*' remained the undisputed journal in the Northern parts of India. In between, in 1910 Malaviyaji helped in starting the Hindi weekly '*Maryada*' to enlighten the people of the Hindi speaking belt on the political and social developments in the country. This was later issued along with the '*Leader*'.

The Government of India shifted its headquarters from Allahabad to Delhi in 1912. This necessitated Malaviyaji to spend more time and pay more attention in Delhi and in course of time it was felt that a newspaper to cover that region was necessary. The '*Hindustan Times*' founded by a Sikh gentleman was taken over by the Birlas in 1924 and Malaviyaji was made the Chairman of its Management Board. Malaviyaji thoroughly reorganized the paper, and put it back on proper track with a wider outlook to become one of the leading newspapers in the country.

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During the Banaras session of the Hindu Mahasabha in 1923, various programmes were chalked out to promote the ideals and principles of the Hindu Sangathan and Malaviyaji, who presided over the session wanted a news journal to propagate the basic principles of the Hindu Sangathan and reach out to the masses in every nook and corner of the country. The '*Hindustan Times*' covered the English version and the '*Arjun*' and '*Tej*' took over the Hindi and Urdu part respectively.

In 1935, after his split from the Congress, Malaviyaji formed the Independent Party to raise a voice against the Government on the Communal Award issue. He made a bid with a view to take over the '*Hindustan Times*' by his Independent Party, as Birla's withdrawal would definitely affect the financial status of the paper and would result in closure. However the '*Hindustan Times*' agreed to keep a neutral attitude to Malaviyaji's views and publication continued.

Malaviyaji's involvement in journalism continued and in 1933, July 20th, a new Hindi weekly viz. '*Sanatana Dharma*' was started on Guru Poornima day from Banaras by Goswami Ganesh Datt of Punjab, under the direct patronage of Malaviyaji. A young and fresh post-graduate from Banaras Hindu University, by name Bhuvaneshwar Nath Mishra was chosen by Malaviyaji to be the editor. The main purpose of this journal was to promote and propagate the ideals of *Sanatana Dharma* and carry articles on social and public interest apart from science, art, sociology etc. contributed by eminent scholars like Mahamahopadhyaya Giridhar Sharma Chaturvedi, Mahamahopadhyaya Pramathanath Tarkabhushan etc. Malaviyaji himself

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occasionally contributed articles of which some were written in his own hand and some were dictated. One of his favourite subjects was the historicity of Sri Krishna which was being doubted by some scholars. Despite best efforts, the circulation of '*Sanatana Dharma*' did not cross a few thousand copies. Yet it was no mean achievement that this paper became self-supporting within a few years.

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CHAPTER XI

REJOINED THE COLLEGE

Malaviyaji had joined as co-editor of the '*Hindustan*' in 1887. He worked day and night to edit the daily '*Hindustan*' in Hindi, as news editor, literary editor, proof reader and circulation manager. He left the editorship of '*Hindustan*' due to an unhappy experience there and rejoined Muir Central College in 1889 for his LL.B. degree.

Malaviyaji was an orthodox Brahmin, and very careful in the matter of food and drink. The reader will recall the circumstances in which he left the service of Raja Rampal Singh because on an occasion, when under the influence of alcohol the Raja spoke ill of Pandit Ajudhia Nath for whom Malaviyaji had great regard. Ram Naresh Tripathi[1] gives the following account of the incident in Malaviyaji's words:

> "I gathered my papers and came home and did not go for ten or twelve days. When I went to him next and was announced, he came out and bowing before me said, 'I have no idea at all of what I said the other day when drunk. Even so, if any insulting words escaped my lips, this head is before you and you may inflict what punishment you like on it'. I was satisfied that he had not consciously spoken ill of Pandit Ajudhia Nath."

1. In his book Tees din Pujya Malaviyaji Ke Sath p. 229)

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The only alternative to journalism was perhaps practice of law as a means of livelihood. Malaviyaji's clear dislike of this profession was overcome by the persuasion of his enthusiastic well wishers, Mr. H.O. Hume and Pandit Ajudhia Nath and Pandit Sundar Lal. Raja Rampal Singh having failed to stop him from leaving Kalakankar as already narrated, encouraged him to take the LL.B. degree and continued to pay him a hundred rupees per month.

Pandit Ajudhia Nath had come to Allahabad from Agra on the establishment of the High Court. He was one of the leaders of the Bar, a member of the Provincial Legislative Council and the top leader of the Congress movement in this part of the country. He won the epithet of the "Lion of the upper Provinces" due to his fearlessness. In the report of the Allahabad session of the Congress (1888) Hume describes him as follows:

> "By descent a Kashmiri Brahmin; a man of large means, a member of the Legislative Council, the most distinguished legal practitioner probably in the United Provinces and unquestionably the leader of his own section of the bar, he is withal a most cautious man, deliberating long in every case before he moves. He actually considered over our aims and objects and pondered over our methods for nearly two years before he concluded that he owed it to his country to join our movement."

Pandit Ajudhia Nath was pleased with Malaviyaji's performance at the Calcutta Congress of 1886 and had taken him under his wing. Malaviyaji was closely associated with him as his right hand in the work of the Indian National Congress, in the editing of his journal, the "*Indian Union*" and as his pupil at Muir Central College where Pandit Ajudhia Nath was professor of Law. Malaviyaji had the highest respect for him.

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REJOINED THE COLLEGE

After leaving the editorship of the "*Hindustan*", Malaviyaji devoted his time mainly to preparation for the Bachelor of Laws degree for which he attended lectures at the Muir Central College. The law classes were longer than classes in other faculties. Professor W. Jardine was only one other teacher of law besides Pandit Ajudhia Nath. He passed the examination for enrolment as Vakil of the High Court, which was being conducted by the High Court since 1866. The examination could be taken after a year's study but was much more difficult than the examination for the LL.B. He was therefore able to practice in the District Court even before acquiring that degree.

Malaviyaji completed his study of law and was awarded a second class LL.B. degree in 1891. It would be quite unfair to conclude that since he got only a second class degree, his study of law had been superficial. Despite all his manifold activities he had passed the stiff Vakil-ship examination after a single year's study. He spent all his evenings in study on the upper floor of the house in Johnstonganj where Baldeva Ram Dave had his office and library of law books. Sita Ram Chaturvedi, Malaviyaji's learned biographer, says that he had done little reading and managed to pass the LL.B. examination with just a week's preparation. This has to be explained in the context of the tragedy in his family just before his final examination in law was to begin. His younger brother, Manohar Lal, ended his life by an overdose of opium shortly after his marriage, and Malaviyaji, overwhelmed by grief, ceased to attend to his studies and even thought of skipping the examination. Just in time, Pandit Ajudhia Nath, prevailed on him, to appear in the examination. These were the facts behind his week's preparation for the examination.

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CHAPTER XII

CAREER AT THE BAR

Malaviyaji was awarded the LL.B. degree in 1891. He had earlier started handling cases in the district courts in 1891. He began practice in the High Court in 1893 without having to undergo an apprenticeship, as the Allahabad High Court did not require this of a graduate in law before taking up cases on his own.

Malaviyaji rose quickly to prominence in the profession. In 1895, cases in which he was engaged began to find place in the Indian Law Reporter. The number of cases rose rapidly till 1898. Then it dropped for some years while he was occupied in preparing a petition to Government for the adoption of Hindi as Court language. Again it picked up from 1900 to 1908 after which he gradually renounced his practice to concentrate on the work for the Banaras Hindu University. He left High Court practice around 1913 and appeared only once thereafter in 1923 in the *Chauri Chaura* case.

Malaviyaji always had plenty of cases in hand, often more than he could manage. It is said that someone complained to Hume that Malaviyaji was neglecting national work due to his busy practice. Hume, who delighted in Malaviyaji's growing success in the profession, said to him: "Madan Mohan, God

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has given you a keen intellect. If you apply yourself wholeheartedly to the profession even for ten years, you are sure to get ahead of everybody and then you will command respect in society and be able to serve the country all the better."

Hume's prediction came true. Malaviyaji was surrounded by clients from early in the morning to late in the night. He could not find time even to take his bath and perform his *Sandhya* before the time to go to Court; and he used to miss his morning meal frequently. It was usual for him to change into his Court dress in his carriage while driving to the High Court. His clothes were always placed for him in the carriage. Malaviyaji attained a thriving practice within a few years. His classical education gave him access to the original sources of Hindu law. His perfect command of the English language, influential eloquence, perceptive logic and habitual assiduousness which ensured complete mastery of the details of the case, and his marvellous memory gave him success. His fair complexion, handsome features, distinctive dress, and his gentle and refined manners were aids to success. Conscientious hard work was at the root of his professional success. This was illustrated by an incident which he narrated to Ram Naresh Tripathy.

"I was briefed by the Maulavi Mohammad Mahmud-ul-Hasan of Allahabad District in a case for which some books of reference in Arabic had been obtained from Egypt. From these I had noted down extracts in Devanagari character. When counsel for the client started reading out from the books in the Court, he faltered. Thereupon I asked him to let me read the extract and did so from the

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transcript I had made in Devanagari. The reading was so correct that Zamin Ali a leading advocate, who had listened to it, congratulated me in the veranda after we left the Court room and said that he was now convinced of the excellence of the Nagari script, though he would not say so publicly."

Shiva Ram Pandey Vaidya, a close friend of Malaviyaji, has recorded that Malaviyaji received nine rupees for his first case. Malaviyaji's earnings rose rapidly and he attained prosperity. In one of his famous cases (that of the Rani of Sherkot) he was so well remunerated that he was able to pay off all unpaid debts and to rebuild his ancestral house in pucca brick in a well-designed style, while the rest of the locality still remained under tiled roofs.

This growth would have continued if Malaviyaji had continued with full involvement in the legal profession. But he was more interested in political and social activities. He attended and participated in periodical sessions of the Congress. He undertook time-consuming tasks like the preparation of a petition to Government for the adoption of Hindi as the Court and official language, and raising funds for building a hostel for Hindu students, and establishing a Hindu University.

And as already stated, he also started two journals the *Abhyudaya* and the *Leader* while still in active practice. He was elected a member of Allahabad Municipal Board (1901) and a member of the legislative Council of the U.P. (1902) and India (1910); so he had to devote time to the civic and legislative work. In these circumstances it was natural that his involvement in the legal profession should drop. Rajarshi Purushottam Das Tandon paid a rich tribute to Malaviyaji's high ideals of profe-

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ssional conduct in his speech at the unveiling of Malaviyaji's portrait in Parliament House, New Delhi on December 19, 1957. He said,

> "How many lawyers can claim that they have not rewarded touts for bringing clients to them, or that they have not had bribes paid through their munshis (clerks) or that they have not had false evidence tendered by witnesses tutored by them. Malaviyaji never resorted to such practices. He carried on his legal practice with the same purity as he observed in his private life. This was possible only for one who did not hanker after money."

He gradually renounced his practice to concentrate on the work of Banaras Hindu University. Renunciation of practice so profitable and still growing, was truly an act of sacrifice. Malaviyaji was born poor, he had a large family to look after, and many who could look up to him as a wealthy relation for help. Only those who can enter into the depth of his feeling for his country and for the Hindu community can understand his actions. He threw away his practice in order to have all his time free to concentrate on the work of Banaras Hindu University and to devote to political work. Gokhale said that Malaviyaji's action was *Tyaga* or sacrifice. Born in poverty he had made a fortune as a lawyer and tasted the joys of affluence and then discarded them. Bishan Narain Dar said that Malaviyaji's life was a sermon on sacrifice which all can understand. A distinguished judge of the High Court put the case in the language of sport comparing Malaviyaji to the player who had the ball at his feet but refused to kick it. In the words of Sita Ram Chaturvedi, "The Goddess of wealth (*Lakshmi*) was

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waiting at her open door, *Aarti* and garland in hand, to welcome Malaviyaji. But his ears having caught the cry of the poor and the helpless, he turned back to pick up the beggar's satchel for their sake."

After an interval of ten years, Malaviyaji appeared in the High Court in 1923 to support the appeal of the 170 persons sentenced to death by the sessions judge of Gorakhpur in the famous *Chauri Chaura* case. The police station of *Chauri Chaura* (in Deoria district) was set fire by 225 persons and in that fire one Sub-Inspector died, and 21 constables were trapped. The crown counsel was a barrister from Aligarh named Qadri. Malaviyaji argued the case in general for all the accused for four or five days. Many other lawyers appeared for individual accused persons. The case was heard by a bench consisting of Chief Justice Sir Grimwood Mears and Justice Sir Theodore Piggot. The atmosphere in the Court was tense. When Malaviyaji stood up to begin his address, the Chief Justice Sir Grimwood Mears looked solemn and stern. As Malaviyaji proceeded with his arguments in his usual sweet and persuasive manner, the Chief's appearance and attitude changed, and he rose twice and bowed in respect, and when Malaviyaji had finished the Chief paid him a tribute in following words : "Mr. Malaviya, we are extremely grateful to you for putting this case so fairly and well before us. We feel sure no body else could have argued so ably." As a result, 151 of the 170 accused persons were saved from the scaffold and strictures were passed against the police.

There has been some speciality in Malaviyaji accepting a case such as the following:-

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1. He never took fees for cases of the poor and for cases involving common welfare.

2. He never accepted cases, where he had to speak untruth.

3. He always wore a white robe while arguing the cases.

It may be noted, that in those days with most of the judges being Europeans, there was a tradition of wearing only a black robe, started by the Britishers, but Malaviyaji stood alone, always wearing a white robe. As a leading advocate of the Allahabad High Court, he used to go to the Court in horse carriage. He used to advise his cartman, not to beat the horse under any circumstances. He also insisted that the cartman take a daily bath, be dressed neatly, and wear a sandal paste mark on his forehead.

It was also well-known about Malaviyaji that before taking up any case he used to discuss with both the parties and make all efforts to settle the issue outside the Court itself, by mutual consent. He was known in the profession as a lawyer of very keen intellect, extremely fair in the presentation of his cases, courteous to his opponents but above everything else, he combined scrupulousness to the highest degree with ability of a high order. Successive Chief Justices held him in high regard not only for his ability but for his spotless character.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE BIRTH OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The credit for organizing the Indian National Congress belongs to Allan Octavian Hume, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, and son of the founder of the Radical Party in England. There is no doubt that he was inspired by a genuine feeling of sympathy for the interest and welfare of India.

Hume retired from Government Service in 1882, and on 1st March 1883, he addressed an open letter to the graduates of the Calcutta University in which he stated:

> "Whether in the individual or the nation, all vital progress must spring from within, and it is to you, her most cultured and enlightened minds, her most favoured sons, that your country must look for the initiative. In vain may aliens, like myself, love India and her children, as well as the most loving of these; in vain may they, for her and their good, give time and trouble, money and thought; in vain may they struggle and sacrifice; they may assist with advise and suggestion, they may place their experience, abilities and knowledge at the disposal of the workers, but they lack the essential of nationality

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and the real work must ever be done by the people of the country themselves.

"Scattered individuals, however capable and however well-meaning are powerless singly. What is needed is union, organization and to secure these an association is required, armed and organized with unusual care, having for its object to promote, the mental, moral, social and political regeneration of the people of India.

"If only fifty men good and true, can be found to join as founders, the thing can be established and the future development will be comparatively easy.

"——————————whether in the case of individuals or nations, self-sacrifice and unselfishness are the only unfailing guides to freedom and happiness."

This appeal did not go in vain. The men required as founders to initiate the movement were forthcoming from all parts of India; and the "Indian National Union" was formed. The first notice convening the first meeting of the Indian National Union at Poona was issued by Hume in March 1885. It was this union which was instrumental in summoning the first Indian National Congress.

The first session of the Congress was held at Bombay on December 28, 1885. The total number of delegates who attended the session was around 70 but they were fairly representative of the different regions of India. W. C. Bonnerjee was elected President of the Congress.

Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee in his "Introduction to Indian Politics",[1] giving the genesis of the Congress wrote as follows:-

[1] Published by G. A. Natesan, Madras 1888.

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"It will probably be news to many that the Indian National Congress, as it was originally started and as it has since been carried on, is in reality the work of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, when that noble man was the Governor-General of India. Mr. A.O. Hume, C.B., had in 1884 conceived the idea that it would be of great advantage to the country if leading politicians could be brought together once a year to discuss social matters and be upon friendly footing with one another. He did not desire that politics should form part of their discussion, for, there were recognised political bodies in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other parts of India.——————— Full of these ideas he saw the noble Marquis when he went to Simla early in 1885. Lord Dufferin took great interest in the matter, and after considering it for some time he sent for Mr. Hume and told him that in his opinion Mr. Hume's project would not be of much use. He said there was no body of persons in this country who performed the functions which Her Majesty's opposition did in England.———— It would be very desirable in their interests as well as the interests of the ruled that Indian Politicians should meet yearly and point out to the Government in what respect the administration was defec-tive and how it could be improved, and he added that an assembly such as he proposed should not be presided over by the local Governor, for in his presence the people might not like to speak out their minds. Mr. Hume was convinced by Lord Dufferin's arguments, and when he placed the two schemes, his own and Lord Dufferin's, before leading politicians in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other parts of

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the country, the latter unanimously accepted Lord Dufferin's scheme and proceeded to give effect to it. Lord Dufferin had made it a condition with Mr. Hume that his name should not be divulged so long as he remained in the country."

The first session of the Congress was strictly confined to the delegates, the members of the public not being admitted even as spectators.

W. C. Bonnerjee in his Presidential address elaborated the objects of the Congress under the following four heads:

1. The promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst all the more earnest workers in our country's cause in the various parts of the Empire.

2. The eradication, by direct friendly personal intercourse, of all possible race, creed, or provincial prejudices amongst all lovers of our country, and the fuller development and consolidation of those sentiments of national unity that had their origin in their beloved Lord Ripon's ever memorable reign (Lord Ripon was the Governor-General and Viceroy from June 1880 to November 1884. Lord Dufferin succeeded him in December 1884).

3. The authoritative record, after this has been carefully elicited by the fullest discussion, of the mature opinions of the educated classes in India on some of the more important and pressing social questions of the day.

4. The determination of the lines upon, and methods by which, during the next twelve months, it is desirable for native politicians to labour in the public interest.

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The Congress then discussed and passed nine resolutions. The more important of these were in the form of demands to the Government of India for the—

1. Appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the working of Indian administration.
2. Abolition of the Indian Council (of the Secretary of the State).
3. Creation of Legislative Councils for the North-West provinces and Oudh and the Punjab.
4. Admission of a considerable proportion of elected members to the Supreme and Local Legislative Councils with the right of interpellation and discussion of Budgets, and the creation of a Standing Committee in the House of Commons to consider formal protests from majorities in the Councils.
5. Reduction of military expenditure and its equitable apportionment between India and England.
6. Introduction of simultaneous Public Service Examinations in England and India and the raising of the age of candidates.
7. To protest against annexation of Upper Burma and its proposed incorporation with India.
8. Sending of resolutions to Political Associations.

The final resolution fixed the next Congress at Calcutta in the last week of December 1886.

The proceedings of the Congress were widely circulated and they were also sent to all political associations functioning in the country. The newspapers heartily welcomed the new

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organization as the most powerful organ of Indian political opinion, and put forward various suggestions for the consideration of the next Congress. The result of all this was clearly perceived in the second session of the Congress which met in Calcutta on 28th of December 1886 with Dadabhai Naoroji as president.

The men who attended the first Congress at Bombay had no representative character. The Second Congress was composed of delegates elected at public meetings held for the purpose in different provinces. Five hundred delegates were elected. Of them about 440 actually registered their names and attended the session. The largest number of delegates was from Bengal, namely, 230.

The special feature of this Congress was the admission of the public as spectators[1] of the proceedings. Henceforward this became a regular feature of the Congress sessions.

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1. "After the Boer war in South Africa, Gandhiji returned to India and spent some time in going about the country. It was in the year 1901 when the Congress met at Calcutta under the presidentship of Dinshaw Wacha. Gandhiji says: The immense pavilion and the volunteers in stately array, as also the elders seated on the dais, overwhelmed me. I wondered where I should be in that vast assemblage.

"In those days there was hardly any difference between visitors and delegates. Everyone raised his hand and all resolutions passed unanimously. My resolution also fared in this wise and so lost all its importance for me. And yet the very fact that it was passed by the Congress was enough to delight my heart. The knowledge that the imprimatur of the Congress meant that of the whole country was enough to delight anyone."

(My experiments with truth — Para III, Chapter XV, First and Last Para)

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CHAPTER XIV

EMERGENCE OF MALAVIYAJI AS A NATIONAL LEADER

It may be recalled here that in the year 1880, Professor Aditya Ram Bhattacharya established, in collaboration with some prominent citizens, the Hindu Samaj - the first political organization in the city of Allahabad. Madan Mohan Malaviya was admitted as a member of this Samaj.

Soon after the birth of the Indian National Congress in December 1885, the Hindu Samaj was reoriented as a provincial organization under the name Madhya Hindu Samaj. It adopted the programme of the Hindu Samaj with emphasis on its social and political work and it became one of the recognized political bodies by whom delegates were elected to attend the annual sessions of the Indian National Congress.

In the second session of the Congress held at Calcutta in December 1886, there were 74 delegates from the territory now comprised in the Uttar Pradesh (old North Western Provinces and Oudh) of whom seven including Malaviyaji and his preceptor Aditya Ram Bhattacharya were representatives of Allahabad Town. Both of them were Government Servants. Aditya Ram Bhattacharya was a Professor in the Muir Central College and Madan Mohan Malaviya was a teacher in the

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Government High School, Allahabad. It will be recalled that in those early years of the national movement, Government servants were not forbidden from taking part in politics or to writing to the newspapers.

There was great enthusiasm amongst the delegates and the public when the Calcutta session commenced on the 28th of December 1886 with Dadabhai Naoroji as president. The great scholar and antiquarian, Rajendra Lal Mitra, who was the chairman of the Reception Committee observed in his welcome address:

> "We live, not under a National Government, but under a foreign bureaucracy; our foreign rulers are foreigners by birth, religion, language, habits, by everything that divides humanity into different sections. They cannot ascertain our wants, our feelings, our aspirations."

In his presidential Address, Dadabhai Naoroji regretted the refusal of the Government to grant the prayer of the first congress for a Royal Commission of inquiry.

On the subsequent day, the Congress passed a resolution drawing attention to the increasing poverty of the people. D.E. Wacha, who moved the resolution, pointed out that 40 millions of people had only one meal a day, that too not always.

By another resolution the Congress reiterated the demand for the expansion of the Legislative Councils and laid down elaborate principles according to which it should be carried into effect. It demanded enlarged power for the Legislative Councils and an increase of members, not less than one-half of whom should be elected.

The Congress appointed a Committee to consider the question of recruitment for Public Services and recommended

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that open competitive examination for the senior services should be held simultaneously in India and in England.

On the fourth day of the session, a resolution relating to representative government was moved by Surendra Nath Banerjea, the great national leader and orator. It will be recalled how Malaviyaji, perhaps at the instance of Aditya Ram Bhattacharya, stood up on a chair beside the President with his permission and delivered that memorable oration which captivated everyone in the audience.

The third session of the Congress was held at Madras in December 1887, and it was presided over by an eminent Muslim leader, Badruddin Tyabji, who later rose to be a judge of the Bombay High Court. The number of delegates in this session was 607. The most significant feature of this session was the eloquent appeal made by the President to his Muslim co-religionists to join the Congress. In his presidential address, Tyabji ably answered the reproach made against the previous two sessions of the Congress that the Muslims had kept aloof from them. He urged them to work hand in hand with the other communities of India, and hoped that in future the Muslims would not stand aloof from the others in their joint efforts to secure "those great general rights which are for the common benefit of us all————."

Malaviyaji again attended this session of the Congress as a delegate duly elected by the Madhya Hindu Samaj. This time there were altogether 45 delegates (including Malaviyaji) from the North-Western Province and Oudh.

As in the previous year, the resolution on the subject of admission of the people's representatives to the Legislative

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Councils was moved by Surendra Nath Banerjea. It was seconded by Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao and supported by Eardley Norton and Bishan Narain Dar, after whom Malaviyaji spoke "with passionate earnestness natural to him." He drew pointed attention to the indifference with which the British Parliament dealt with Indian affairs and on this he based his demand for the creation of representative bodies within the country to exercise control over the Government. He cited the fact that when the Indian Budget was last presented to Parliament no more than 29 of the 675 members of the House of Commons were present in the House.

Malaviyaji's speech was applauded by top leaders of the Congress in Madras——Raja Sir Madhava Rao, Diwan Bahadur R. Raghunath Rao and Eardley Norton.

Recording his appreciation, Hume, General Secretary of the Congress, in his report of the session, wrote:

> "Then came Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, a very young and enthusiastic labourer in the cause, and from his speech too we feel bound to extract largely partly because although over-fervid in expression towards its close, it embodies truths that merit careful consideration; but mainly because it was the only single speech during the whole Congress to the tone of which even hostile critics could possibly take no objection, and we consider it only just, therefore to place it before the reader."

Almost the whole of the speech was reproduced occupying more than two foolscap pages printed in small type. What publicity this meant may be judged from the fact that 3000 copies of the report were distributed in Britain.

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The passage which Hume regarded as over-fervid was probably the following:

> "Britain has granted or conceded this concession to all those places. Why should she think that we are less loyal than her subjects in other lands? Australia would break with her to-morrow if she ventured to prevent Australia from taking British goods, while we, in all good temper, accept an odious income-tax, vilely administered and imposed not to meet the expenses of our own government but to provide funds to enable Great Britain to annex Burma or menace Russia."

The performance of Pandit Malaviya in the Congress Sessions of 1886 and 1887 brought him to the forefront of the national leaders. It may be noted here that he had completed only 26 years of age at that time. But Hume appointed him as the joint Secretary of the provincial branch of the Congress then known as the North Western Provinces and Oudh Association. He was also elected to the newly formed Rules Committee of the Congress (destined in due course to become the Subjects Committee) whose function was to examine the proposals sent in by delegates, to draw up the agenda of business for the session and draft rules for the conduct of the business of the Congress both at the annual sessions and during the intervening period. It consisted of delegates taken from each Province.

As desired by Hume, Malaviyaji in the capacity of Joint Secretary of the North Western Provinces and Oudh Association of the Congress, invited the Congress to meet at Allahabad in December 1888. This was accepted willingly by all.

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CHAPTER XV

HISTORIC CONGRESS SESSION OF 1888

The prominent citizens of Allahabad extended their full support to Pandit Malaviya in making necessary arrangements for holding the Congress session at Allahabad in December 1888. They joined hands to form a strong and distinguished Reception Committee with Pandit Ajudhia Nath as President, Pandit Bishambharnath as vice president, Raja Rampal Singh as secretary and Malaviyaji as joint secretary. The members included Lala Ram Charan Das, Charu Chandra Mitra, Dr. Avinash Chandra Banerji and leading lawyers— H.P. Niblett, Baldeva Ram Dave and Jogendra Nath Chaudhri.

Malaviyaji immediately started the work of popularizing the programme of the Congress. The value of such work had been demonstrated by the remarkable success achieved by means of it, in the South during the preceding year in preparation for the Madras session.

The need for such propaganda was greater in 1888 as a result of a revulsion of the official attitude to the Congress. The rapidly mounting popularity of the Congress movement aroused the apprehension of European officials that their dominance in the administration would vanish with the growth of representative institutions in the country.

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The leader of the officials opposed to the Congress, Sir Auckland Colvin, happened to be the Lieutenant - Governor of the N.W.P. and Oudh at that time. Allahabad was his head-quarters. He fell foul of Hume on account of a circular letter or pamphlet which Hume had written in April 1888 drawing the attention of the British public to the abject poverty and miserable state of the Indian masses. Colvin addressed a long letter to Hume in October 1888 characterizing his criticism of the British administration as a 'hideous caricature' of it and warning him against the course he was pursuing, and he got a rejoinder thrice its length from Hume. The Anglo-Indian press also, led by the Pioneer, attacked Hume and even demanded his deportation.

Colvin tried by every means in his power to prevent the Reception Committee from securing a site for the Congress session. The reception Committee was first informed that they could use the Khusro Bhag but this offer was withdrawn a month later. Then, in April, 1888, permission was given to rent a large piece of waste land near the fort. The Committee deposited the rent immediately. After four months the rent was returned with the information that the permission was withdrawn on sanitary grounds. The Committee members then secured a group of houses belonging to friends but these were near the Pioneer office, which presented some difficulty. Everywhere the 'Colvin' factor was coming in the way.

The genius of Malaviyaji found out a solution soon. He took a letter from the chairman of the reception Committee Pandit Ajudhia Nath (who was generally styled as the lion of U.P.) and met Maharajadhiraj Lakshmishwar Singh of

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Darbhanga. After handing over the letter of Pandit Ajudhia Nath to him, Malaviyaji personally explained the whole situation to him. Within a short time, the Darbhanga Maharaja secured a lease of Lowther Castle lying immediately to the North of Government House at Allahabad. And on its spacious grounds the Congress Naya-Nagar (new town) was laid out.

> "A huge *Pandal* was raised, with seating 5000 persons, while a splendid *Shamiana* (tent) lent by the Maharaja of Darbhanga served as a general reception room, and another tent lent by a Muhammadan nobleman served as a reading room, to which almost every paper in India except the Anglo-Indians being sent gratuitously. Around these arose blocks of tents, divided by wide roads, each block having its own dining and meeting halls, the whole forming a finely decorated city, while Lowther Castle itself was used for the President, Secretaries and leading dele-gates, with all the business offices. A quarter was set aside for shops, where salesmen offered the beautiful Indian manufactures of the U.P. but, the report says, spirituous liquors and intoxicants of all kinds were rigidly excluded." [1]

The opposition of officials and the Muslim opposition engineered by them had spurred Congress workers to redouble their efforts to popularise their programme. Lakhs of leaflets were distributed; hundreds of men toured and lectured. Every attempt was made to make this session of the Congress the most impressive held till then.

Three million people took direct part in the election of delegates. The number of delegates rose a hundred percent

1. Annie Besant : How India Wrought for Freedom pp 55-56.

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over the figure of the previous session. Fifteen hundred were elected of whom 1248 attended compared to 760 elected and 607 actually present at the previous year's session. Out of the delegates attended, more than 200 were Muslims.

In answer to the opposition organized at Aligarh a *Fatwa* (ruling) was obtained from the leader of Sunni Muslims of Lucknow. Moulvi Mohammad Hidyat Rasul in his speech ascribed the large proportion of delegates from Oudh to the "Kindness of our brethren in the Aligarh camp."

Syed Sharfuddin of Bihar (later judge of the High Courts of Calcutta and Patna) stated triumphantly in his speech that two hundred Muslim delegates were attending this session in answer to the official sneer that the first session of the Congress was a meeting of a few educated natives, the second of Bengalis and the third of Hindus.

(According to the published proceedings of the session, there were 221 Muslim delegates attending the session. This figure included the scions of the ex-royal families of Delhi and Lucknow).

The president of the session was George Yule, a British merchant of Calcutta. In his Presidential address, he observed that every big movement like the Congress had to pass through a series of stages: the first is one of ridicule, the second of partial concession of the movement with some expression of surprise that it was not adopted before. He then pointed out that the Congress had passed the first stage and was now in the second, when reforms were accompanied by warnings against taking "big jumps into the unknown."

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The session was notable for the high level of the speeches delivered. Sachchidanand Sinha, a student of Patna College at that time, who attended the session as a spectator, wrote down (in 1931) as follows:-

"————————Till then the province of Bihar had not taken an active part in Congress politics and affairs, and had been wholly unrepresented at the first session of the Congress, and poorly so at the second and third sessions held in Calcutta and Madras respectively. But there was a strong contingent from Bihar at the Allahabad Congress, which was a unique and an unprecedented gathering. It was amidst such surroundings that I found myself in the visitor's gallery, when the Congress opened on the first day of the session, with a wonderfully impressive speech delivered by Pandit Ajudhia Nath, and a highly thoughtful and strikingly suggestive presidential address by Mr. George Yule. I was so much interested in the proceedings of the Congress that I sat, so to say, glued to my seat all the days and all the time that its sessions lasted. I heard for the first time dozens and scores of eminent Indian leaders, addressing that vast concourse. Some of the powerful speeches delivered by the greatest Indian speakers of the time made a deep impression on my young mind, for instance, those by Surendra Nath Banerjee and Kali Charan Banerjee of Calcutta, Eardley Norton of Madras, and Pherozeshah Mehta and Kashinath Triambak Telang of Bombay. All seemed to me wonderful and extraordinary performances, and so no doubt they were, especially as then judged, according to the standard of a young student, by me. But

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while I admired them all, none of the speakers made such an ineffaceable and indelible impression on my mind as did the truly eloquent speeches of Pandit Malaviya. I fully remember, even now how intently absorbed I sat all the time Pandit Malaviya addressed that vast gathering. Unlike the great orators named above, Pandit Malaviya's speeches seemed to me to combine rare eloquence with remarkable sweetness and suavity. This first impression of mine of the characteristic of Pandit Malaviya, as a public speaker, has since then grown with my growth and strengthened with my strength."

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CHAPTER XVI

BHARTI BHAVAN LIBRARY

The Bharti Bhavan Library was established in November 1889 at Allahabad in the locality where Malaviyaji lived. Many young men who worked as volunteers during the session of the Indian National Congress became inspired with patriotic zeal and thought of building a library. There was already a strong feeling that Indian culture was in danger due to the implicit impact of the west. The medium of education was English, mostly western subjects were taught and there was no place for Indian languages in the courses of study. Bharatendu Harish Chandra said that advancement of the mother tongue was a necessary condition of all progress. His battle cry was "निज भाषा उन्नति अहै सब उन्नति को मूल" which means "the advancement of the mother tongue lies at the root of all improvement". This idea had caught the imagination of the younger generation.

Balakrishna Bhatt was a neighbour of Malaviyaji at Allahabad. He was an enthusiast for Hindi and gathered a group of young men including Malaviyaji and inspired them with missionary zeal for promoting the mother tongue. They felt the sad neglect of Hindi and longed for a respectable place for it on the shelves of libraries.

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Thornhill - Mayne Memorial Library was the only public library in Allahabad at that time. It was situated far away from the centre of the city, and stocked with books in European languages. It was felt that the masses could be awakened only through the medium of the local languages and, therefore, a library of Hindi and Sanskrit books should be established through which the culture of the land could be enriched. This was the idea of Balakrishna Bhatt and Lala Lal Behari, a well-to-do person of Satna who graduated at Allahabad. He was related to Brij Mohan Lal Bhalla, who had no children and was a philanthropist, and was living near Madan Mohan Malaviya's house.

Brij Mohan Lal Bhalla, a great lover of Hindi, donated a large collection of books to form a library. He also provided accommodation in his own premises and met all the initial expenses of the library. A trust was created by him with an initial investment of Rs. 47,200 of which Rs. 10,000 was allocated for the construction of the building. But he passed away after the foundation was laid.

Another wealthy philanthropist Lala Ramcharan Das was interested in this library, and offered to put up a building at a cost of Rs. 22,000. The building was completed and formally opened on 12th May 1913. Dr. Sir Sundar Lal presided over the function and Malaviyaji spoke on the occasion on the importance of propagating knowledge citing the Hindu Sastras in support of his views.

Malaviyaji, though associated closely with the library, could not take much part in establishing the library as he was away in the Kalakanker editing the Hindustan. His cousin Jay Govind

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Malaviya who was the teacher of Sanskrit in Government High School, Allahabad, had donated his invaluable collection of Sanskrit manuscripts. These manuscripts and the collection of Hindi books donated by Brij Mohan Lal Bhalla formed the initial stock of the library.

Jay Govind Malaviya was a member of the first managing committee, which formed its constitution and defined its aims and objects, which reflected the vision of the promoters. The aims and objects are:

1. The books were available to anyone who sought them,
2. The Library was to acquire books in Hindi and Sanskrit,
3. The Library would not purchase books in other languages for a price,
4. The Library would accept books in other languages as gifts,
5. The Library would subscribe for at least ten journals,
6. The Library was to encourage writers of good books.

The promoters of the library, Lala Lal Behari, Balakrishna Bhatt and Jai Govind Malaviya met daily at the house of Brij Mohan Lal Bhalla and took constant care of the library. Madan Mohan Malaviya joined them frequently.

They created a trust for the library. Malaviyaji was named a trustee, and continued to be a member as well as President of the trust till the end of his life. This institution was very dear to him. He adopted its name as his own address, dated his letters as from Bharti Bhavan, Allahabad. At the fifth annual function of the Bharti Bhavan Library, December 1894, Malaviyaji gave a speech in which he dilated on the importance of libraries of Sanskrit and Hindi books.

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CHAPTER XVII

CONGRESS SESSION AT BOMBAY 1889

Malaviyaji attended the next Congress session held at Bombay from December 26 to 29, 1889. He was elected as a delegate both by the Hindu Samaj and by a public meeting of the citizens of Allahabad. He was still described in the list of delegates as Editor, Hindustan (which he had left some months before) and as a Joint Secretary, Congress, Allahabad. The other delegates from Allahabad were Pandit Ajudhia Nath, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Durga Charan Banerji. There was a considerable number of Muslims in the list of delegates coming from every part of the province. The prince of the Royal family of Oudh was also in the list of delegates.

The British M.P., Charles Bradlaugh was also present in this session. He was called a member for India due to his warm sympathy for the Indian people. He had drafted a constitution for India in the form of a bill, embodying the views of the Congress. It was an interesting electoral scheme. Every adult male who was 21 years old or more would participate in the primary election. The district would be the unit of the electorate and 12 representatives would be elected for every million of the population at the primary election. Persons so elected would then elect representatives to be members of the Indian Legislative at the rate of one member for every

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million of the population. Communal minorities were to have members corresponding to their proportion in the population.

There was a lively debate on the draft bill. Different views were expressed on the proposal for proportional representatives of the various communities. Mr. Hume rejected the suggestion outright, "Indians are Indians", he said, "why should there be a majority or a minority?" Hamid Ali Khan of Lucknow also didn't like this idea of raising of the communal issue. Certain Muslim members took advantage of the suggestion to make extravagant demands. Hidyat Rasul of Oudh said that there should be an equal number of Hindu and Muslim members in the Central Legislative Council. Another Muslim delegate Wajid Ali Biwaji wanted Muslim members three times the number of Hindu members. Though these proposals were defeated by the vote of delegates including Muslim delegates, in a resolution the principle of proportional representation of communal minorities was accepted to the following effect as recorded by Annie Besant in "How India Wrought for Freedom":

> "Whenever the Parsis, Christians, Muhammadans or Hindus are in minority, the total number of Parsis, Christians, Muhammadans or Hindus, as the case may be, elected to the Provincial Legislature, shall not, so far as may be possible, bear a less proportion to the total number of members elected thereto, than the total number of Parsis, Christians, Hindus or Muhammadans, as the case may be, in such electoral jurisdiction, bears to its total population."

Bradlaugh was requested to draft a bill on the lines indicated and present it to the House of Commons. This resulted

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in improved activities of the India Office and in the enactment of the Indian Council Act 1892.

It is to be noted that Malaviyaji made no reference to the idea of communal representation when he spoke on his favourite theme of people's representation in the Legislative Councils. Indeed, he was never reconciled to this. He said in his speech that out of four popular demands the Viceroy had already accepted three namely – (i) enlargement of the Legislative Councils (ii) submission of the budget to the council irrespective of whether new taxation was proposed or not; and (iii) the right of interpellation. The only demand not accepted was the right to elect representatives to sit in the councils. He pressed for this in his speech as below:

> "The sole privilege which we are praying for is to be allowed to choose our own counsel to represent our case and condition fully before them. They continue to be in the position of a Judge. Government seems unwilling to allow even that. They say they will appoint councillors of their own choice to plead our cause. Now, gentlemen, we thank them for this overflow of kindness towards us, but we feel we would be much better off if they allowed us to exercise our discretion in the choice of councillors. We would much rather feel that there are no non-official members in the Council than that there are members who are not in the least in touch with our people.
>
> "The Legislative Council is the great tribunal before which measures of the greatest possible moment, affecting not only ourselves, but even our posterity, are continually coming for decision, and justice requires that before

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the council passes its final judgement upon them, we should be allowed to have our say with regard to them through our chosen and accredited representatives. We do feel, gentlemen, and feel strongly that we should no longer be debarred from exercising this simple and rightful privilege. The privilege of selecting one's own counsel is not denied even to the most abandoned of criminals under the British rule. Why then should it be denied to the loyal and intelligent subjects of Her Gracious Majesty ? When a jury is being empanelled, the judge asks the person whose fate is decided by the jury, to say if he has any objection to any person composing it and in case he has any such objection that person is removed from the panel."

Malaviyaji also spoke at this session in support of the resolution moved by W.C. Bonnerjee reminding the British Parliament of neglecting its duty towards India. The Indian Budget was annually presented to Parliament in discharge of a statutory obligation but was treated with indifference. Malaviyaji made a brilliant survey of the unfortunate consequences of this indifference in his speech.

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CHAPTER XVIII

POLITICS 1890-98

The sixth congress session of 1890 was held at Calcutta under the president-ship of Pherozeshah Mehta. Malaviyaji made a powerful speech at this session in support of the motion that one half of the members of the Legislative Councils should be elected by the people. Malaviyaji also brought in a proposal that facilities should be given to Kisans (Peasants) for becoming members of the Congress.

The next Congress session that Malaviyaji attended after starting practice as a lawyer was the Congress session of 1891 held at Nagpur under the president-ship of Anand Charlu. The main problem of the day was the financial stringency. There was a steady fall in the price of silver. Therefore, the exchange value of the Indian rupee also fell. So it was necessary to remit a larger amount to meet the "home charges" i.e. the payments which had to be made in England by the Government of India on account of the establishment of the Secretary of the State, the pensions of British officials retired from service in India, interest on British capital invested in India etc. Keeping in mind the benefits of a policy of free trade Britain insisted that customs duty on cotton goods which were imported into India should be abolished. Thus a large amount of revenue was lost. Expenditure was rising due to the forward policy on

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the north-west Frontier. Due to this taxation increased, which was far beyond the paying capacity of the people.

Malaviyaji spoke on this subject and pressed for the Indianization of the officers' ranks in the army. He said, Indian soldiers had gone outside India and shed their blood for the Queen wherever she wished, but they could not rise higher than the ranks of subedar-major and risaldar-major. Even after twenty five years of service they always remained subordinate to the European sub-lieutenant who joined just the other day.

On the subject of popular representation on the Councils Malaviyaji observed, "We appeal to the English people to bring the administration of this country more in conformity with those high and noble principles which have always been their pride and which have raised them to the proud position which they now occupy in the world. Then and then alone will British rule in India be the glory as it should be of England."

The Congress session of 1892 was to be held at Allahabad under the president-ship of W.C. Bonnerjee. The chairman of the Reception Committee, Pandit Bishwambhar Nath was aged, and Pandit Ajudhia Nath who could support him passed away a few months before the session was to begin. The Reception Committee was in despair and was thinking of postponing the session but the courage and determination of Malaviyaji came to its rescue and the session was duly held.

At this session Malaviyaji seconded the resolution relating to the services. The Royal Commission on the Public Service in India was appointed in 1886. It gave hope that the Congress demand for admission of more Indians to the higher ranks of

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the services would be met to some extent by holding simultaneous examination for the Indian Civil Service in India and England. The Government's resolution on the Commission's report narrowed down even the Commission's recommendations. The Congress resolution was, "Full justice could never be done to people of this country until the open competitive examination for the civil service of India, is held simultaneously in England and in India." Malaviyaji seconding the resolution gave figures to show the drain of India's money due to the "employment of Europeans in the higher ranks of the public services" and asserted that this was the root cause of the increasing poverty of the people.

Many important events took place in the year 1893. There were serious communal riots at Bombay and Ajamgarh due to the overlapping of the Hindu festival of Dasehra and the Muslim's month of sorrow, the Moharram. The riot in Bombay lasted for three days, eighty lives were lost and many mosques and temples were damaged. Another significant event was the closing of the mint to the free coinage of gold and silver, the result of which was the virtual confiscation of half the national wealth. In the light of these facts, Malaviyaji spoke at the year's session of the Congress in moving the resolution relating to the poverty of the people. He said:

> "Will they kindly come and see? If they believe in God and believe they will have to render an account of their stewardship in this country, let them come out to this country once in their lives and go from village to village and town to town and see in what misery the people live. Let them come out and ask the people what

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the country was, say, before the Mutiny. Where are the weavers, where are those men who lived by different industries and manufactures, and where are the manufactures which were sent to England and other European countries in very large quantities year after year? All that has become a thing of the past, every one sitting here is clothed in cloth of British make, almost every one and wherever you go you find British manufactures and British goods staring you in the face. All that is left to the people is to drag out a miserable existence by agricultural operations and make infinitesimal profit out of the little trade left to them. In the matter of services, in the matter of trade, our people are not enjoying one-hundredth part of the profit and gain which they used to enjoy fifty years ago. How then is it possible for the country to be happy? How is it surprising that the country is not more poor than it is?"

Surendra Nath Banerji speaking on another resolution referred to this speech with appreciation and said:

"You heard yesterday the story of Indian's poverty related in graphic and earnest language by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya; you heard on the highest official authority that twenty million people have died of starvation in the last few years; you heard that 40 millions live on one meal a day and now these 40 million people will be burdened with additional taxation."

The next Congress session was held at Madras in December 1894. Alfred Webb M.P., an Irishman, was the president. Malaviyaji moved the resolution relating to Legislative Councils. This was reformed by the Indian Councils Act of 1892.

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He pleaded for the immediate establishment of a Legislative Council for the Punjab and also for revision of the rules for the conduct of business in the Councils.

After the session Malaviyaji was invited along with Surendra Nath Banerji to attend a meeting of students. They were to speak on the subject whether students should discuss or take part in politics. Surendra Nath Banerji supported the view that students should discuss and take part in politics under proper guidance and control. Malaviyaji did not approve these views and said students should concentrate on their studies.

In the year 1895, a Royal Commission was appointed to enquire into the expenditure of the Government of India. It was appointed by the efforts of Dadabhai Naoroji who, being a Member of Parliament, was also appointed a member of it. As he could not himself give the evidence, he instructed Malaviyaji to prepare the memoranda and give evidence before the Commission.

The Congress session of 1895 was held at Poona under the president-ship of Surendra Nath Banerji. Malaviyaji spoke on the resolution relating to the Expenditure Commission and urged that its proceedings should be open to all.

After the Congress session Malaviyaji and Surendra Nath Banerji were invited to address a meeting organized by Lokamanya Tilak on 29th December 1895 in connection with the Shivaji festival. Tilak started efforts for raising a suitable memorial to Shivaji. Tilak had made an appeal for funds for the erection of a memorial. Forty thousand rupees was an estimated cost, in response to which the Gaekwar of Baroda had sent

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one thousand rupees. Malaviyaji and Surendra Nath Banerji addressed the Shivaji memorial committee meeting and made an appeal for funds for it and raised the Shivaji Memorial scheme to a status of all-India importance.

The next Congress session was held at Calcutta in December 1896. Malaviyaji spoke on two important subjects (i) famines and the growing poverty of the country and (ii) the system of Provincial Contracts. Criticizing the system of Provincial Contracts, Malaviyaji highlighted in his speech that the growth and happiness of the people can be achieved by Provincial administrations and not on the working of the Central Government as per the present system in vogue, where the provincial administration's power and authority were crippled by the centre.

As per the Act of British Parliament, through which the Indian Government was ruled and regulated, the Governor-General-in-Council under the direction and control of the Secretary of State was vested with the authority of overall superintendence. In matters relating to finance, the Secretary of State had to follow the views of the majority of the members of his Council viz. 'Council of India'. No power was given to Provinces either to levy taxes or to expend the revenue and they had to depend on the Central Government for these. The fierce attack on the system by Malaviyaji in his speech, made the Government at the centre review the system and against the background of the Orissa famine, the Provincial Legislature was given some powers for spending. In course of time, it was realized that revenue collection could be increased and expenditure curtailed by making provision for a share of the collection to the Provincial Government. By that time, this system had

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developed and the provincial Governments had certain heads of revenue assigned to them with powers to collect and spend and to retain certain portion of the revenue collected for meeting expenses of the departments they administered such as law, justice, police, jails, education, public health, sanitation, agriculture and industry. To avoid overspending and ensure smooth administration, the share of each head of revenue which a province was allowed to retain for its own use, once determined held good for five years. These periodical review and arrangements came to be known as "Provincial Contracts".

By 1897 Congress started to get impatient and frustrated. Its labours had borne little result after the reforms of 1892. The resolution of simultaneous examinations in Britain and India for the I.C.S., which was adopted by the House of Commons in 1893 was still not implemented. Famine, plague and high taxation remained unremedied. Indian public men felt sore with the system of Government and held it responsible for impoverishing and dwarfing them. Even Gopal Krishna Gokhale whose politics was moderate and sober used strong language in the evidence which he presented before the Royal Commission on Expenditure in 1897. He stated:

> "A kind of dwarfing or stunting of the Indian race is going on under the present system. We must live all the days of our life in an atmosphere of inferiority and the tallest of us must bend in order that the exigencies of the system may be satisfied.....The moral elevation which every self-governing people feel cannot be felt by us. 'Our administrative and military talent must gradually disappear owing to sheer disuse, till at last our lot as hewers of wood and drawers of water in our own country, is stereo-typed."

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The Congress session of the year 1897 was held at Amarawati. C. Sankaran Nair, President of this session spoke in the same strain.

> "Years of subjection, nay, we may even say servitude, have sapped the strength of the Indian nation, dwarfed its growth, and stripped it of all that was grand and noble in it, and if India is ever to occupy a better position than she fills at the present moment and take her proper place in the scale of nations, it must be entirely due to the zealous efforts of her educated and enlightened sons."

At the same session of the Congress on 27th December, 1897 Malaviyaji moved a comprehensive resolution on the Royal Commission on Expenditure. Malaviyaji urged that the expenditure on the civil and military services should be reduced, that such expenditure should be shared by both Britain and India, when incurred in the common interests of both of them, that Indians should be represented on the India Council and that the budget of the Indian Governments should be voted upon by the Legislative Councils. The existing arrangement of military expenditure was unfair. A body of British troops was being maintained at the cost of the Indian Government, only a nominal contribution being made by Britain. The cost of wars waged on the frontiers of India in the interest of the British Empire, and not of this country, was also being maintained by Indian Government.

Malaviyaji did not attend the Congress session of the year 1898 held at Madras because he was pre-occupied with the preparation of the memorandum for the introduction of Hindi as the court language.

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CHAPTER XIX

THE HINDI MEMORANDUM

Hindi is the third most widely-spoken language in the world (after English and Mandarin): an estimated 500-600 million people speak the language. A direct descendant of Sanskrit through Prakrit and Apabhramsha, Hindi belongs to the Indo-Aryan group of languages, a subset of the Indo-European family. Hindi language has its roots in the classical Sanskrit language. The language acquired its current form over many centuries, and numerous dialectical variations still exist. Like Sanskrit, Hindi is written in the Devanagari script, which is common to several other Indian languages as well. Much of the vocabulary of Hindi comes from Sanskrit, though Hindi also has a special relationship with Urdu. Their grammar and much of their vocabulary are virtually identical. Linguists think of Hindi and Urdu as the same language, the difference being that Hindi is written in Devanagari and draws vocabulary from Sanskrit, while Urdu is written in Persian script and draws on Persian and Arabic. The separation is largely a political one; before the partition of India into India and Pakistan, spoken Hindi and Urdu were considered the same language, Hindustani. Many of the local dialects of Hindi i.e. Maithili, Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Brij Bhasha, Rajasthani, possess considerable literatures of their own. Devanagari is the script of the various dialects of Hindi with minor variations.

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Urdu, literally means 'a camp' and the language was called by this name because it was used by Muslim rulers who were fond of touring and spending most of their time under the canvas. Urdu was a form of Hindi with a vocabulary of Persian and Arabic words. It differs from Hindi in that it uses the Persian script, Arabic alphabet written in a different style. Urdu was used for administrative and judicial purposes. It was spoken by people of the official classes and their dependents who lived in the administrative centres.

It would not be right to say that Urdu was the language of the Muslims or that Hindi was the language of the Hindus. Urdu was a common language of the official and educational classes, whether Hindu or Muslim. Hindi in various dialects was the language of the mass of the people both Hindu and Muslim. There were many Muslim writers who wrote in Hindi and also many Hindu writers who produced Urdu literature.

State patronage plays a significant part in the development of languages. Hindi received the patronage only of the lesser Hindu rulers in the central part of the country and in Rajasthan. In the areas of Punjab and Uttar Pradesh Persian was the court language from the time of the Emperor Akbar. Everywhere else even Muslim rulers adopted the local languages for purposes of administration. Due to this Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati developed rich literatures. These were enriched further under British rule as the language of the people was also the language of the court and revenue administration. Urdu was the language of the courts in the North West Provinces and Oudh, and due to that the progress of Hindi literature and education retarded in these areas.

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In the forties of the nineteenth century, when primary schools were first started in the villages of present day Uttar Pradesh, the number of students who read Hindi was six times more than the students who read Urdu. Persian was the language of administration till then, so people who wanted education acquired knowledge of it and were conversant with its script. Now that Government desired to impart elementary education on a mass scale, the right policy was adopted of conducting the teaching in Hindi except for those who asked to be taught Urdu. Production of Hindi books was encouraged. Raja Shiva Prasad, who held a high position in the Education Department, wrote forty books in Hindi, and many more were written by his friends. When consulted by the Government as to which script the text books should be printed, he strongly advised the Devanagari script, because its known superiority. Professor Aditya Ram Bhattacharya of Muir Central College was one of those asked to translate standard English books in Hindi by the Government.

Hindi thus started to gain its rightful place in the schools. As far back as 1854, the Board of Revenue of the North West Provinces had ordered the use of Hindi in Devanagari script in revenue records maintained by *Patwaris.* This order was not implemented. In 1877, the Government issued an order that persons seeking appointment in Government service, carrying emoluments above ten rupees per month should have passed class VIII of an Anglo-Vernacular School with Urdu or Persian as one of his subjects. Following this order the proportion of students who opted to read Urdu rose.

A strong movement for the revival of Hindi began in the middle of the nineteenth century. Bharatendu Harish Chandra

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(1850-1885) was truly the morning star of the Hindi renaissance in the region of North West Provinces and Oudh. He announced his conviction that improvement of the mother tongue lay at the root of progress in any direction in the popular slogan, "निज भाषा उन्नति अहै सब उन्नति को मूल."

In Allahabad Balakrishna Bhatt, a senior contemporary of Bharatendu, Madho Prasad Shukla, Ras Behari Shukla, Purushottam Das Tandon and Madan Mohan Malaviya formed the *Hindi Uddharini Sabha*. The Sabha met frequently to discuss literary works and promote production of books in Hindi.

Banaras became the leading centre of the Hindi renaissance. The Nagari Pracharini Sabha was established here in 1893 by the efforts of Shyam Sundar Das, Ram Narayan Misra and Shiva Kumar Singh. A petition submitted to Government in 1884 for allowing the Nagari script to be used in documents in courts, promoted by Pandit Durga Datt of Meerut, was rejected. Sir Antony MacDonnell of the Indian Civil Service who was known to be sympathetic to Hindi and who had served in two Hindi speaking provinces was appointed as Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Provinces. The Nagri Pracharini Sabha, with a hope of better luck, took the opportunity on the occasion of Sir Antony's first visit to Banaras in 1895, to present him with an address and it received a sympathetic reply.

Malaviyaji took the next step forward. He was tempted by the encouraging response of Sir Antony MacDonnell to the address presented to him by the North West Provinces, and had an interview with the Lieutenant-Governor. After that Malaviyaji started to prepare a memorandum for the substitution

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of Hindi in Devanagari script instead of Urdu in the Persian script which was used then in the law courts and revenue records. He delved deep into the history of the subject, collected considerable amount of statistics relating to various provinces to demonstrate the harmful effect of the use of an unfamiliar language script on the progress of education and development of sound administration. He also brought together the opinions of high authorities in support of his belief that the Devanagari script had an excellence not seen in any other script, and that the '*shikast*' form of Arabic script which was mostly used in the writing of court documents, had many serious defects.

Sachchidanand Sinha explains how Malaviyaji worked enthusiastically, in this passage in an article in the Malaviyaji Commemoration Volume, 1931:

"For the sake of putting together this highly instructive and convincing work, he had to give up practically his practice for a period of from two to three years, and I distinctly remember him sitting in (what was called in those days) the Vakil's Association rooms of the Allahabad High Court, surrounded by piles of books of reference and standard works of philology in place of being immersed in legal literature in that surrounding."

The memorandum was prepared and printed at the India Press Allahabad in 1897 with the title "Court Character and Primary Education in the North-West Provinces and Oudh." Its text runs to 65 closely printed foolscap pages, followed by appendices covering another 35 pages.

The first part of the memorandum narrates the history of the language and the script used in the law-courts. It points

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out that the regional languages Bengali, Oriya and Hindi had been substituted for Persian, which was used as the court language under Mahomadan rule, in Bengal, Orissa, Bihar and the Central Provinces respectively. But in the North West Provinces and Oudh which constituted the home-land of Hindi, Urdu had been made the language of courts mistaking it for the language of the people. Due to this, people were unable to understand the proceedings of law-courts. The usage of Persian and Arabic words being greater in Urdu, the litigant was unable to follow the proceedings, although the petitions were written and evidence was recorded in the vernacular. Adalat and Sadar Board of Revenue as well as the Government of the provinces ordered to use the simple language but the use of difficult Arabic and Persian words continued. Malaviyaji said that this evil was the result of the use of the Persian script and would be remedied effectively by the substitution with the Devanagari script. He cited the opinions of Sir Monier Williams, Dr. James Briggs, Professors Dowson and Blochmann, Raja Shiva Prasad C.S.I., Bharatendu Harish Chandra and others and supplemented these opinions by extracts from judgements of courts. The following passage contains a gist of his thesis:

> "Leaving the case of European Judges and Magistrates aside, it may well be doubted, if half the number of native Judges and Magistrates of all grades, and legal practitioners, Mahomedan as well as Hindu, who belong to the courts of those provinces, can by themselves read the court papers *with unfaltering ease and correctness*. In the Pleader-ship examination of the Allahabad High Court, candidates are required to pass an examination in reading and writing of Hindustani (Urdu), and not only Hindu

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graduates, who have read Persian up to the standard required for the B.A. examination, but also Mahomadans, have failed in reading an unfamiliar passage in Persian writing as it is ordinarily written in courts. No blame to them. The fault lies in the writing, which, as truly observed by Professor Monier Williams, is "a species of hopelessly difficult stenography" and utterly unsuited for the purposes of public courts and offices. Its supreme recommendation is said to be that it can be written very fast. But how doubtful an advantage does that seem when we consider the amount of time and labour lost in the attempt to decipher it, and the serious consequences arising from mistakes which must inevitably happen now and then in reading it. In a case of very large value which was decided by the Allahabad High Court a few years ago, a division Bench of the court, one of the judges constituting which was a Mahomadan gentleman of profound Persian and Arabic learning, was occupied for a considerable time in considering what the correct reading of a name entered in a decree was, the name being readable both as "Jhanguri Rai" and as "Chakhuri Rai". The case went up eventually to Her Majesty's Privy Council, and their lordships there disposed of the difficulty by saying that ". Jhanguri Rai was synonymous with Chakhuri Rai." (See I.L.R., 13 All., P. 57) Twenty-nine other suits relating to Taluka Narhi, decided two years ago by the Subordinate Judge of Ghazipur, are now pending in appeal in the Allahabad High Court, in which many of the issues turn entirely upon the reading of the numerous names written in Persian characters in certain decrees passed in previous litigations relating to the same property."

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He quoted the weighty authority of Sir Isaac Pitman inventor of stenography in support of the excellence of the Devanagari Script, who said:

"If in the world we have any alphabets most perfect it is those Hindi ones."

He cited also Sir Erskine Perry, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Bombay who wrote as follows:

> "The perfection of a written character seems to be that it should convey through the eye an accurate idea of the pronunciation of each word, and this attribute is fully possessed by the Devanagari in which Sanskrit is written and by all the best native alphabets. ..... The value of this characteristic is tested by the fact that Hindu children are able to read directly they have learnt the value of each letter, so that an accomplishment, for which years are often needed in Europe, is acquired in India in three months."

The second part of the thesis explains the adverse effect of the use of Persian script in schools. He quoted the report of the Census Commissioner of 1881 who had shown the fact that in the Kumaon division where the Devanagari script was used in the law-courts, the number of students in the primary schools had multiplied six times during the fifteen years 1860 to 1874, while in the rest of the provinces where Urdu was used in the law-courts, the number of students in the primary schools had not even doubled.

Malaviyaji felt sure of the success of the case he had so laboriously prepared. He told Tripathi (in 1940) that as soon

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as the memorandum was ready he felt in his inner self that it was sure to succeed; still he took every precaution to ensure its success. He toured quite a lot of provinces to enlist support for it and formed a committee to place it before the Government. He wanted to keep himself in the background, so he carried on all correspondence on this subject in the name of the president of this committee, Raja Pratap Narayan Singh of Ayodhya, who was also to lead the delegation which would present the case to the Lieutenant-Governor.

In those times Allahabad was the seat of the Provincial Government where the Lieutenant-Governor also resided. Sir Antony MacDonnell as Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces had to deal with the famine in this part of the country in 1896-7. Malaviyaji took advantage of this opportunity to win the good-will of Lieutenant-Governor. He gave a party to appreciate Lieutenant-Governor's creditable performance and meritorious service during the famine on behalf of the public of the Provinces at which the Maharaja of Banaras presented an address to him on February 14, 1898. Malaviyaji confided to Tripathi that he had given Sir Antony MacDonnell a party on behalf of the people of the Province apparently to eulogize his famine relief work but actually to win his support for the Devanagri script. The illumination at the party which was with gas lamps, used for Dasehra celebrations, was on such a lavish scale that the European guests were inclined to put down the cost of the party at about a lakh of rupees though actually only about four thousand was spent. The Lieutenant-Governor was very much pleased.

When Malaviyaji broached the subject of Nagari script at an interview with him soon after, MacDonnell advised him to

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wait for some time. Accordingly a whole year passed before the delegation consisting of the Rajas of Manda, Awagarh and Ayodhya, Dr. Sundar Lal and Malaviyaji waited on the Lieutenant-Governor on March 2, 1899. Malaviyaji was forced to take the lead on this occasion even though he wanted to be in the background by an irony of circumstances. The delegates, unable to decide the vexed question of priority among them, made him their spokesman conceding priority to him as a Brahman. It thus fell to his lot to present his Magnum opus to Sir Antony MacDonnell.

The Government adopted the resolution permitting the Nagri script to be used in addition to Urdu in court documents nearly more than a year later on 15th April, 1900. Litigants were allowed to present their petitions in Hindi if they desired, charge-sheets given to the accused in criminal cases were to be written in Hindi. Urdu and a Hindi version of the Court's order were to be supplied to the litigant on demand.

To implement these orders it was necessary that the court officials should acquire sufficient knowledge of Hindi and Nagari script. This they were ordered to do quickly, but they were reluctant in the hope of being relieved of it on Sir Antony's retirement.

Even the limited concessions were enthusiastically welcomed by the Hindu public. Hindi supporters appointed petition writers at their own expense to write petitions in Hindi for litigants free of charge. The court officials, however, accepted grudgingly under compulsion of Government orders.

Government orders on this subject were strongly opposed by the Urdu protagonists at Aligarh and elsewhere. This

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was already expected. Malaviyaji anticipated opposition from the European community also. He was astonished to find that the *Pioneer* observed silence on the subject.

Later in the year Malaviyaji received a letter from the private secretary inviting him for an interview with the Lieutenant-Governor. Malaviyaji had an attack of fever before the day appointed for the interview, and was on diet. He went to see Sir Antony MacDonnell, armed with medicines. He had an unusually long conversation with the Lieutenant-Governor lasting for two hours. Sir Antony MacDonnell gave him full assurance that the Muslim agitation against the order regarding Nagri script did not worry him in the least, and the order would stand and not be withdrawn under any circumstances.

Malaviyaji came out from Government House happily despite his illness. He was pleased with the Government's decision to ignore the Muslims and depend on the majority community for support. He was usually prepared to give such support.

Sachchidanand Sinha wrote in 1931 that "it was an immensely difficult task to have obtained such an order thirty years back and none but Pandit Malaviya could have successfully achieved his purpose."

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CHAPTER XX

ALLAHABAD CIVIC WORK

Apart from his involvement in politics at the national level Malaviyaji contributed a lot to the city of Allahabad (his home town) by becoming a member of the Municipal Board in 1900. This enabled him to become a member of the Provincial Legislative Council in 1902 and thereafter of the Imperial Legislative Council in 1910. He was very keen to strengthen the Hindu Society and Hindu Sabhas and utilized the Congress and Provincial Political Conference in this task, He also felt the need for a Hindu University to give a new dimension to national education.

The Education Conference held at Simla in September 1901 under the leadership of Lord Curzon, and the publication of the report of the Universities Commission appointed later, created an awareness and interest in the minds of the public in respect of higher education and research. The various reforms recommended by the Commission to raise the standard of higher education were placed under the guidance of experts from Government and Universities and an Inspector-General of Education was brought from England. However this move on the part of the Government was viewed with suspicion by learned and educated Indians, as intended to curb the

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development and growth of higher education by disallowing the private colleges. Surendra Nath Banerjea in his presidential address at the Bombay session of the Congress in 1902 highlighted the importance of education which was the basis of all progress; and appealed to the Viceroy not to accept the recommendation of the Commission which would retard the progress of higher education.

The session also passed another resolution, seconded by Malaviyaji, requesting the Government to extend liberal support to the Research Institute established by Tatas and to encourage the establishment of research institutes in other parts of the country.

The Universities Commission, appointed by Lord Curzon had recommended the following reforms to raise the efficiency of higher education. The governing bodies of the Universities would be reduced in size and would have a majority of Government nominees, and all controls over the main functioning of Universities such as affiliation of colleges, inspection and appointment of teaching staff would be vested with the Government. A bill had been prepared to give effect to the recommendations.

In the Congress Session held at Madras in December 1903, Malaviyaji spoke opposing Lord Curzon's plan on education policy, and supported the comprehensive resolutions adopted by the Congress, proposing drastic amendments to the bill. The resolution recommended the following:

i) To have large Senates comprising fellows and life members,

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ii) University authorities and not the Government to have power to grant or withdraw the affiliation, subject to Government's approval,

iii) Inspection of the colleges by University authorities and not by Government officers from education department,

iv) The authority to frame their own by-laws vesting in the Universities.

Apart from these, it was also specified that provision for residence or accommodation to teachers and students should not be made a pre-condition for granting affiliation.

Meanwhile, Malaviyaji was nominated as Fellow of the Allahabad University in the year 1903. He was also appointed member of the Managing Committee of the Thornhill-Mayne Memorial Library. His urge and commitment to establish a Hindu University continued, and the idea of establishing a Hindu University was adopted in the public meeting in 1904 at Banaras.

Malaviyaji's concern for the stay and welfare of the students coming particularly from distant places and rural areas to pursue higher education in Allahabad made him realize the need for residential accommodation for the students, and thus arose the concept of hostel where students could stay in comfort and security.

Similar to Malaviyaji's wish, a Musalman Boarding House had been constructed in 1892, and had been serving the need of the Muslim students of the Muir Central College. Malaviyaji's desire to build a Hindu Boarding House finally took shape and the foundation stone laying ceremony was held on 27th July

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1901, in the presence of important personalities. The site of the proposed Hindu Boarding House was situated at a prime location accessible from all sides. Sir Antony MacDonnell, who laid the foundation stone made the following observations in his speech:

> "You have long known that I am in favour of the establishment of boarding houses in connection with our colleges. Our colleges are situated in large cities, and life in these cities is fraught with dangers to the minds and morals of young men. Intellectual culture is handicapped when the student lives amidst sordid surroundings, and cut off for a large part of each day from intercourse with his instructors and fellow-students. The association of young men with each other in a properly managed residential college creates a standard through out his life. If we in the North-Western provinces cannot, at the present time, have residential colleges, we can, at all events, have approximations to them in a combination of the college with its boarding houses, such as that which you propose to establish."

He announced a contribution of Rs. 20,000/- from the Provincial revenue for building the Hindu Boarding House. Many rich philanthropic people donated liberally to this cause and Malaviyaji himself toured the entire province and collected a huge amount as donation for the construction of the Hindu Boarding House. The construction was started and the MacDonnell University Hindu Boarding House was ready in 1903, and was named after Sir Antony MacDonnell, in recognition of the support rendered by him and also to ensure and establish that the

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Boarding House was meant for the use of students of all colleges and institutions and not for exclusive use by students of Muir Central College. Unlike the Musalman Boarding House which had a prayer hall and common kitchen, the Hindu Boarding House had no common place of worship and was provided with many kitchens so that students could cook their own food.

Within a short time of its opening and functioning, the Hindu Boarding House had to be evacuated due to the threat of plague epidemic. A separate plague camp was established for the inmates of the Hindu Boarding House.

It is noteworthy to mention here that national leaders like Govind Ballabh Pant and Kailash Nath Katju were the earliest members of the hostel. Because of the involvement of Malaviyaji in establishing and running the Hindu Boarding House, it was widely and popularly known as Malaviyaji's Boarding House.

Despite his contribution to education and the student community in particular, Malaviyaji's 'Moderate' stand in politics, was not accepted and favoured by the students who were attached more toward the 'Extremist' policy of the Congress. Their affinity to the extremist policy was apparent when Tilak, a strong extremist, was given a thunderous welcome when he visited Allahabad in June 1907, after attending the Calcutta session of the Congress. They openly criticized and abused the moderate leaders particularly Malaviyaji and Sundarlal.

It will be appropriate to mention here that during the visit of Gandhiji to Allahabad in December 1916 when he stayed with Malaviyaji at his residence, Malaviyaji explained the whole background for the construction of the Hindu Boarding House,

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and proudly took him around the building. Displeased by the provision of modern facilities in the hostel, Gandhiji was very critical of the action, particularly when most of the people in the nation did not have the basic facilities of food and shelter. He was annoyed with Malaviyaji and said that this arrangement will spoil the habits of the students, as after enjoying the facilities in the hostel, they will find it difficult to adjust themselves to the village life. Malaviyaji retrieved his position by answering, "You are perfectly right. I do it deliberately so that students returning from these hostels may erect comparable houses in their villages which may thus be filled with palaces."

Due to increase in demand for accommodation in the hostel, because of the reorganization of the Allahabad University as a teaching body in 1922, the hostel building was extended with the addition of two wings.

The infectious epidemic plague which showed its appearance in 1896 at Bombay, spread fast to other cities of the country, mostly larger and sacred towns of the north eastern Province. The sacred town of Haridwar was the first victim. Due to misconception in the minds of the people, the measures taken by the administration, such as segregation and removal of patient to isolation hospitals, evacuation of people to safe areas, preventive inoculation and improving the sanitary facilities in public areas, were looked upon with suspicion and were resisted by the people leading to riots and fighting between Government and the public resulting in the death of some policemen. The situation was communicated to the Central Government which diluted the plague regulation to one of voluntary submission to treatment.

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Allahabad, the Headquarters of the Provincial Government and also an important religious city was also exposed to this epidemic and hence needed special care in the prevention and treatment of plague. A suggestion was made to cancel the annual Magh Mela as it was feared that the epidemic will spread in the city very fast.

Considering the prevailing political situation, the suggestion was turned down and measures were intensified to arrest the spread of the epidemic to other places. A special plague officer was appointed from Indian Medical Service, assisted by special Tahsildar to tackle the situation. Government funds and grants were provided liberally by Central Government to handle the situation properly and people oriented, as inoculation was not accepted by the people. Hence inoculation was made optional at the will of the individual.

As a secondary measure to arrest the spread of plague which is an infectious disease, it was decided to evacuate the people from plague-infected areas to plague camps, but unfortunately there was resistance and unwilling-ness on the part of the people to move into these camps. Many camps were established and the people were educated and persuaded to move into the camps in the overall interest. A special camp was set up for the inmates of Hindu Boarding House. Though quite a number of camps were established in different areas, these were not occupied as they were lacking in many basic facilities like sanitation, drinking water, lighting and security. These issues were highlighted by Malaviyaji in his speech at the Legislative Council, which is narrated below in his own words:

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"In Allahabad I had myself the privilege of visiting some of the plague hospitals and I know how people who were not at first inclined to go there were deeply thankful for the help they received and how many of them were saved.....The people feel the need for and acknowledge the benefit of evacuating infected areas and if health camps are provided in places to which they can conveniently resort, if there is sufficient police protection afforded, if there are lighting and water arrangements as there were four years ago at Allahabad, I submit that a large number of them will be saved from the jaws of death.. In the beginning the Health camps were not occupied. I was told that in Lucknow huts were erected for two years but not all of them were occupied. That was the experience in Allahabad for the first year. People would not enter them, because at that time there was not sufficient police protection, no lighting arrangements and no water arrangements but in course of time all that was done and in one year more than 150 huts were actually occupied in only one camp at Sobatia Bagh in Allahabad. I can assure the Council that the people who took shelter in these camps with the exception of two cases of persons who had actually taken infection before they came there, the rest of them who went into these camps with the same clothes with the same bedding and surroundings which they had in the infected areas were all saved from plague and their thankfulness knew no bounds."

Malaviyaji expressed his gratitude and thanks on behalf of the citizens of Allahabad to the Government for the timely assistance and grant provided to the Allahabad Municipal Board.

The preventive and curative work done by the Municipal Board under the chairmanship of Malaviyaji was remarkable.

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Malaviyaji took keen interest and effort to contain the epidemic by improving the amenities and facilities in the plague camps. He visited the camps and enquired about the condition of the inmates. Despite illness, he continued his task for the welfare of the people.

The outbreak of plague and its containment created an awareness in the minds of the people on the need to have better sanitation, good and potable drinking water and clean surrounding of dwelling areas. A number of schemes were carried out with the Government's aid in this direction. Housing schemes with modern facilities were launched with proper roads and transportation and thus a new outlook was created in Allahabad city. A scheme to introduce Tramway services in Allahabad city and cantonment was considered seriously but the scheme did not take off.

Even though Malaviyaji was engaged in national politics early when he was 20 years old, his entry into the Municipal Board of Allahabad took effect in the year 1900 only. It was essential in those times that one should be a member of the Municipal Board, before he can aspire to become a member of the Legislative Councils of the Province and of India. Malaviyaji was a member of the Municipal Board from 1900 to 1916 and thereafter the baton was handed over to his son Ramakant Malaviya.

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CHAPTER XXI

MEMBER, MUNICIPAL BOARD AND THEN OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

Malaviyaji became a member of the Allahabad Municipal Board in 1900 and continued to be a member of the Municipal Board till 1916 when he stepped down from contesting in favour of his son Ramakant Malaviya. As per the regulation under the Indian Councils Act 1892, Membership of a Municipal Board, considered an important and prestigious position, is mandatory to be eligible to consider for non-official membership of the Provincial Legislative Council and thereafter to the Imperial Legislative Council.

Malaviyaji took active part in the functioning of the Municipal Board and by virtue of his involvement in the activities of the Board, he was elected unanimously by the Municipal Board to the Provincial Legislative Council in 1902 after succeeding Mr. Bishambar Nath who refrained from contesting due to old age. The tenure of office of a non-official elected member in the Legislative Council was fixed as two years as per the Indian Councils Act 1892, and Malaviyaji held the post of Provincial Legislative Council member for 11 years, successfully elected by the Municipal Board from 1902 to 1913 (Re-elected in 1904, 1906, 1908, and re-elected under the Indian Councils Act of

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1909 in 1910 for the term of three years). As a non-official member of the U.P. Legislative Council Malaviyaji took part in the election of the representative of U.P. on the Imperial Legislative Council.

The Indian Councils Act 1892 was modified and replaced with different terms and conditions by a new Act called Indian Councils Act 1909 wherein the Legislative Council was enlarged. Under this new Indian Councils Act, the Legislative Council was vested with more powers such as to enact laws for the province, fiscal matters and budgets and to pass resolutions on matters of public interest. Nevertheless the Government exercised controls on the functioning of the Provincial Legislative Councils. Malaviyaji took very active role in the functioning of the Provincial Legislative Councils and spoke regularly with facts and figures to substantiate his stand on any issue. His maiden speech made on 19th January 1903 in opposing the Bundelkhand Land Alienation Bill presented a landmark approach and established that the views expressed by him were based on facts and were formed after a thorough study and were supported by quotations from acknowledged authorities.

Speaking of the heavy incidence of the land revenue demand Malaviyaji said:

> "When the British Government took charge of the country they introduced long-term settlements based on a calculation of the average produce of several years. These settlements were immoderate and excessive in many instances..... In review-ing the settlement report of the Jhansi district in 1873 Govern-ment said that the past

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history of the district showed that it had suffered both from over-assessment and depredation. In 1881 Mr. Cadell reviewed the settlement of the Banda district and considerably reduced the assessment. The Board of Revenue approved it and justified it on the ground that past fiscal history of the district is one of continuous disaster caused in the first instance by severe assessments.... In reviewing the Hamirpur settlement report 1881 the Board of Revenue pointed out that over-assessment must have put many of the revenue payers into the money lender's books, and once there, they could not free themselves from the heavy burden of debt thus incurred. The rigidity of the system of collecting the land revenue has already its share in driving land owners into the clutches of money-lenders....."

Further in his arguments Malaviyaji opposed strongly the privilege enjoyed by the Thakur Community, under Government patronage, over the proprietary character including right to sell the land. This facility was denied to other communities and economically weaker sections of the society.

Restricting the right to sell would drive the small landholder to borrow at exorbitant rates of interest and thereby become the slave of the creditor. Malaviyaji substantiated his stand and arguments by quoting the views expressed by Sir William Muir and Auckland Colvin, opposing the Government's policy of prohibiting the right to sale by landowner. Similar to these, views expressed by Charles Metcalfe and Sir Courtney Ilbert were also cited by Malaviyaji in his arguments.

Because of the heavy assessment and rigid collection of land revenue, small landowners were forced to approach the

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moneylenders for loans at high interest, which further increased the burden of land revenue due to the Government, ultimately forcing the farmer to pledge his land and become landless poor, adding misery to the society. Malaviyaji emphasized that the only way to make the farmer retain the land and prevent him from selling the land was by reducing the land revenue and rationalizing the collection system. Otherwise people will not be encouraged to invest in land for cultivation.

During his tenure of office as member of the Provincial Legislative Council, he stressed that allocation of funds should be increased in the budget for expenditure towards education, public health and sanitation, industrial growth, other welfare and development activities, and expenditure on police administration to be curtailed. He further took up the issue with the Council on the restriction imposed by the Government on the employment of Kayastha Community in Government offices and wanted the Government to withdraw that order. This request was not conceded by the Government on flimsy, unreal and unconvincing grounds. In one of his speeches at the Council he severely condemned the acts of terrorism, which he repeated again in his Presidential address at the Lahore session of the Congress.

Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Hewett (who was the ex-officio President of the Provincial Legislative Council) in his inaugural address at the reformed Provincial Council governed by the enlarged Indian Council Act 1909, explained the modification made in the constitution and function of the Provincial Council and requested the members to approach the issues in the right spirit. During the same meeting Malaviyaji and Abdul

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Majid Khan were elected as representatives to the Indian Legislative Council. Malaviyaji was also elected as member of a committee to frame draft rules for the conduct of business in the Council.

In his maiden speech at the reformed Provincial Council, Malaviyaji stressed on the income and expenditure of the provinces, and the share the province was allocated by the Provincial Legislative Council. The main source of income to the Provincial Council was the tax collection and the land revenue. Of this, the U.P. Provincial Government was allowed to retain a share of three-eighths of the income and the balance five-eighths went to Central Government. This allocating arrangement was reviewed periodically once in five years and mutually agreed to, by the Central Government and the Provincial Government. This arrangement was called the Provincial Contract.

In his budget speech, Malaviyaji justified the demand of the U.P. for a higher share in the income allocation, with various facts and figures and with comparative analysis with reference to the treatment meted out to other Provincial Governments. This claim and argument was pursued by Malaviyaji in the Imperial Council in the subsequent years. Despite his efforts, his plea to treat U.P. Government on par with other Provincial Governments with regard to sharing of the revenue was not considered or conceded. At the same time he pleaded that the land revenue levy be reduced and the farmers given a better share on the produce. This would reduce the burden on the farmers and motivate higher capital investment on land.

Malaviyaji's efforts to take up the issue at the Imperial Council also was not accepted and as such the discrimination

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on sharing the land revenue against the U.P. Government continued. Malaviyaji's action in this direction was well recognized and appreciated by leading personalities such as Asghar Ali Khan, Motilal Nehru, Raja Kushal Pal Singh, and Lieutenant Governor Sir John Hewett, who showered high tributes on Malaviyaji. Malaviyaji also raised the issue of poverty of the masses and the urgency to save them from starvation and death. A resolution to form a committee to study and look into causes for higher death rate was turned down by the Council and the situation continued.

Having failed to convince the Provincial Legislative Council on the issue of increased share in the land revenue to U.P. Government, Malaviyaji as a member of the Imperial Council took up the issue at the Indian Council more vehemently but all his efforts in this matter did not bear fruit.

Malaviyaji was elected President of the Indian National Congress in 1910, and at the same time he was holding the position as member of the Provincial legislative Council and Imperial Council. He was very much involved in the activities of the Imperial Legislative Council, two noteworthy events being his opposition to the proposed Press Bill and Seditious Meeting Bill. However, these two bills were passed with the majority of the non-official members in the Council supporting them.

The Bill to continue the Press Act of 1908 came up before the Council. The Law Member of the Governor General's Council, because of his official position, defended the provision and argued that a special Legislation was needed for dealing with sedition and incitement to communal revolt. Though this was supported by Gokhale and Sachchidananda Sinha, Malaviyaji

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in his speech on April 4, 1910, opposed the Bill vehemently. Malaviyaji confessed that he took the decision based on the inspiration he derived after the recitation of '*Gajendra Moksha*' prayer.

Malaviyaji was keen that there should be greater deliberation on the provisions before the bill was passed and quoted the fate meted out to the earlier Press Act of 1878, condemned by Mr. Gladstone, the then Prime Minister. Another provision of the bill empowering the executive to bring the Press offences under separate jurisdiction and not governed by the regular court of justice was also objected to by Mala-viyaji. According to him such drastic action was not warranted and cited the observation made by Dadabhai Naoroji quoting the testimony of many high officials and personalities that the press has always behaved respectfully and honourably. Malaviyaji opposed the Government sponsored Seditious Meeting Bill as he felt the likelihood of this Act being misused was greater. In spite of vehement opposition and argument the Press Act of 1910 was enacted and passed and the Bill became a law.

In the year 1909, a memorandum was submitted to the U.P. Government signed and supported by important Hindu leaders to stop the slaughtering of cows in and around religious places, particularly in Mathura. Even though a Government order was issued in 1805 by the then Lieutenant General prohibiting cow slaughtering in holy places, this was not enforced and ignored completely and cow slaughtering continued in sacred places affecting the sentiments of the Hindus. This fact was quoted in the memorandum. Malaviyaji was not among the signatories to the memorial but he lent his full support to

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it. Malaviyaji and Sir Vithaldas Thakersay met the Viceroy Lord Minto in March 1910 and took up the issue of continued cow slaughtering and the ineffectiveness of the order. On the direction of the Viceroy, Lord Minto, Sir Vithaldas Thakersay met the Home Member (Malaviyaji could not meet him due to his illness) on the appointed date and discussed the issue, but failed to convince the Government to implement the earlier order of 1805 on cow slaughter.

The Government of India, vide its order of April 1910, observed that they would not stop the slaughter of cows, where it existed and any grievance on this matter with regard to change in location, religious sentiments etc. could be referred to and solved by the Lieutenant-Governor in a suitable manner.

On 1st May 1910, The Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Banaras decided to conduct a Hindi Sahitya Sammelan to deliberate on the problems of Hindi. Malaviyaji was elected its president. In October Malaviyaji presided over the inaugural session of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan at Banaras which was a great event.

Malaviyaji took prominent part in the first U.P. Industrial Conference held in 1907 at Nainital. The conference was held under the patronage of the Lieutenant-Governor with the sole objective of reviving the development and growth of both agriculture and industry. The outcome of the conference was the holding of an industrial and agricultural exhibition and it was decided to hold the exhibition at Allahabad. Malaviyaji persuaded the authorities to hold the exhibition at Allahabad, where large crowds of pilgrims would come for the Magh Mela and a large body of delegates and visitors for the session of the Congress. The exhibition was a grand success with the

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participation of a large number of industries and patronage of leading Zamindars and citizens. All this was possible due to the untiring efforts of Malaviyaji.

The Queen's Proclamation issued by Queen Victoria in 1858 had been welcomed by many national leaders including Malaviyaji as the *Magna Carta* of Indian liberties. It was decided to hold a function on the banks of the river Jamuna near Fort in Allahabad where the Governor-General of the day, Lord Canning who became the first Viceroy, had read out the Proclamation on 1st November, 1858. Malaviyaji conceived the idea of erecting a marble pillar on the site with the text of the Proclamation inscribed on it, in commemoration of the event and converting the surrounding area into a park as a memorial to the then Viceroy Lord Minto. The entire responsibility was shouldered by Malaviyaji right from fund-raising to the execution of the memorial, even though a separate committee called All India Minto Memorial Committee was formed with Motilal Nehru, G.J.M. Hamilton and himself as members. Some of his friends, including Gokhale were doubtful about the necessary funds. But Malaviyaji assured Gokhale that he would be able to collect the necessary funds by simply writing letters and he collected more than a lakh and thirty thousand rupees.

The function was performed on a grand scale. The Viceroy arrived without notice to avoid risk of violence. The address to the Viceroy was read by Motilal Nehru. Malaviyaji was attending to the more important task of seeing to the safety of the Viceroy's person.

During the course of the function Malaviyaji received urgent messages stating that his father is serious and wanted to see

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him. Due to his commitment and total involvement in the function to ensure its smooth and peaceful completion and the responsibility of the safety of the Viceroy, he ignored the messages from his home on all the three occasions. After the function was over and the Viceroy moved out to the Industrial Exhibition under the care of Lieutenant-Governor Hewett, Malaviyaji left for his home. But, by then, it was too late and he could see his father only in an unconscious state and was unable to speak. His failure to be in time to see and speak to his departed father created an indelible mark on his mind for the rest of his life. Malaviyaji composed one *doha* (couplet) at that time to express his grief is given below:

मन पिरात धीरज छुटत समुझि चूक अरु पाप।
सब प्राणिन के प्राण प्रभु छमहु मिटै संताप॥

The meaning of the couplet is "The heart aches and patience gives way at the thought of my sinful default. May Almighty, the Soul of all creatures grant me pardon and relieve my burning sorrows."

The Silver Jubilee session of the Congress was held at Allahabad in December 1910, and Sir William Wedderburn was asked to come down from abroad to preside over this session, with the specific mission to heal and compromise the differences between the Government and the Congress, Hindus and Muslims, and Moderates and Extremists. As a process of achieving consensus on many issues, he held discussions with Agha Khan, and on whose request he agreed to hold a conference of leaders of both the communities. The first conference of the leaders of both the communities known as the Unity Conference

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was held and Malaviyaji took a major part in it. The conference discussed the issue of Communal representation, separate electorates, language, cow slaughtering, music in front of mosques etc. The agenda of the Unity Conference was to analyze the cause for communal friction and to find out the possible remedies. The conference studied the various issues of communal differences and at the instance of Agha Khan decided to refer these to a new committee called Unity Committee consisting of 17 members-eight Hindu and eight Muslim with Gokhale as seventeenth member. Malaviyaji was named first as a member.

Malaviyaji did not take part in the session and confined himself only to his support of the proceedings and resolutions. However, he joined the delegation consisting of all ex-presidents of Congress with the current President Wedderburn as leader to meet the Viceroy Lord Hardinge and present an address to him. The delegation met the Viceroy, and read out the address containing the following text— "That the Regulations in connection with the Councils which have evoked criticism, will be modified in the light of experience" and the Viceroy's attention was drawn to the prevailing poor condition of the farmer and the need to educate the masses etc.

Malaviyaji continued his war against the electoral Regulations and raised the issue at the Imperial Legislative Council and moved the following resolution:

"That this Council recommends that the Government may be pleased to appoint a Committee, consisting of official and non-official members, to consider and report what changes should be made in the regulations promul-

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gated under the Indian Councils Act of 1909, so as to remove all legitimate complaints on the score of inequality in the treatment of the various sections of His Majesty's subjects; and in regard to some of the disqualifications and restrictions placed on the choice of candidates seeking election to the Councils and also to ensure that the provision for a non-official majority in the Provincial Councils shall be more effective in practice."

Malaviyaji contended with facts and forceful statements that with the regulation, the Legislative Council will not be able to reflect the views of the leading and enlightened personalities. Apart from criticizing the over-representation of the Muslims as a consequence of the Regulation, he also condemned the over-representation of Zamindars and ruling Princes. In his speech he objected to and questioned the need for giving political importance to the Muslims. To quote his own words:

"I do not know what this 'political importance' means and I will not attempt to define it.....At any rate it has not been established on what grounds that political importance is claimed..... I submit that there is no reason to support the view that the Mohammadans are politically more important than the Hindus, the Sikhs, the Christians, the Parsis or any other community living in India...."

This raised a furore in the Council and was vehemently criticized by many members. All members accused Malaviyaji for raising this sensitive issue instead of leaving the issue at the hands of the committee appointed by the Unity Conference. Of the eleven members who participated in the debate only

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one member supported Malaviyaji's views and all the other members opposed the issue and criticized Malaviyaji for unnecessarily disturbing the communal harmony. Indeed Malaviyaji's speech was condemned more than his resolution by Malik Umar Hayat Khan of Panjab. Bhupendranath Basu was the sole Hindu member to support Malaviyaji. Of the Muslim members, Mazhar-ul-Haq of Patna lent handsome support to Malaviyaji.

The Home Member of the Government of India said that the Government had already given an assurance to the Muslims that there will be separate electorates and that they will have proportional representation till they opt for any change. In view of the developments and the Government stand, Malaviyaji expressed his disappointment and resentment to the Council, withdrew the resolution, but however made a comment that the debate had not been infructuous, inasmuch as the Government statement that the special facilities given to Muslims will not be withdrawn except with their consent.

Malaviyaji's tirade against the special concessions made to Muslims continued and in 1912 he tabled a motion in the council to nullify the inequality brought in by the Regulation of 1909. The resolution requested the Governor-General to appoint a Committee to study and report the changes to be made on the Regulation under the Indian Councils Act 1909, covering the following points.

1. The Additional Members appointed by the Provincial Legislative Council, in the Imperial Legislative Council should henceforth be filled by direct voting.

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2. Similarly the seats of Provincial Council now filled by district and municipal boards to be filled up by direct voting.

3. The qualification of the electors should be the same as prescribed for Muslims.

The resolution was disallowed by the Viceroy after a detailed study.

On March 1912, Mr. Gokhale sponsored a Bill in the Imperial Council to introduce free and compulsory education and this was supported by Malaviyaji. The Education Member in the Government of India was equally convinced and supported the resolution and wanted elementary vernacular education free and compulsory and admitted that this could be achieved only with additional financial aid. A lot of objections were raised by many members (like Nawab Abdul Majid) for different reasons. Despite reasoning and support from various national leaders, the Bill which was put to vote did not get the majority and was defeated. Malaviyaji's emotional reaction to the fate of the Bill can be felt from his own remarks as quoted below:

> "It is painful to recall how that modest Bill which sought only to give permission to certain Local Boards under certain conditions, to make elementary education free and compulsory was defeated by the votes of the Government. Only 13 of us— humble representatives of the people – voted for the motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee and 38 persons at the head of whom stood His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal— and which included all the officials and, I am sorry to say, certain Indian members, voted against the motion and killed the Bill."

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CHAPTER XXII

CENTRAL HINDU COLLEGE – 1898

The Central Hindu College where religious education was imparted in the tenets of the *Sanatana Dharma* (Orthodox Hinduism) had been established at Banaras in 1898 by the efforts of Mrs. Besant.

With the establishment of its Headquarters at Adyar, Madras in the year 1882, the Theosophical Society started spreading its message throughout the country. The Movement had gained a new impetus with the arrival of Mrs. Annie Besant in India in 1893. She was a strong, forceful and dominating personality inspiring reverence and loyalty in all who worked with her. Her services to the cause of India are innumerable and deserve to be written in golden letters. Born on 1st October, 1847, in London, she was married in 1867 to Rev. Frank Besant and had a son and a daughter. She got herself legally separated in 1873, and came under the influence of Charles Bradlaugh and was appointed Vice-President of National Secular Society and Co-Editor, National Reformer, 1877. She formed the Malthusian League. In 1882, she came in contact with Madame Blavatsky and she joined the Theosophical Society in 1889.

The Theosophical activities, while developing a spirit of international brotherhood, checkmated the sense of rationalist

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superiority of the West. The movement spread throughout the world. It had a special emphasis on a rediscovery and rehabilitation of all that was great and glorious in Oriental Culture.

Soon after her arrival in India in 1893 she felt that the needs of India were, among others, the development of a national spirit through an education founded on Indian ideals and enriched, not dominated, by the thought and culture of the West. She further felt that in order to develop true Indian Nationality and spirituality, religion must be part of the training of every child, must be the basis of ethics, the spring of patriotism, the inspirer of ideals, and the soul of self-sacrifice. With this idea, she brought about the establishment of the Central Hindu College in Banaras in the year 1898. The institution was opened on the 7th of July, 1898 with Vedic rites, in a small hired house in the interior of the city of Banaras with the aid of a few generous sympathizers. Dr. A. Richardson offered his invaluable services as Honorary Principal. The institution started functioning with fifteen teachers and 177 students. The accommodation soon proved insufficient but the first Patron of the institution, the Maharaja of Banaras, Sir Prabhu Narayan Singh, who, recognizing the value of the new movement, made a princely gift of a magnificent building with the surrounding lands at Kamachha for the College. The institution was shifted to the new buildings in March, 1899.

Under the able guidance of Mrs. Besant and a band of selfless workers, both Indians and Europeans, the College started working "to make men of public spirit, men of patriotic devotion, men of character, men of lofty aspirations; to send out again into India men who are intent on the welfare of the

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masses and who see in her teeming myriads younger brothers to be guided and helped, not helpless crowds to be plundered;.....men fired with a splendid ambition to win the glory of protecting the weak, of helping to feed and raise the poor, of lifting India high among the peoples of the world, of showing out in life the ideal of Duty which sees in the nation but a single life."

Mrs. Besant began to hope that from Kashi, which had radiated spiritual light in the past would flow the revivifying streams which would fertilize all Hindu India and that the Central Hindu College would be a centre of a great circle of related institutions, all giving education on the same lines until it became the Hindu University of India.

The College applied to the Allahabad University for affiliation which was granted by the Senate of the Allahabad University, on the 6th of August 1898. The Maharajas of Banaras, Kashmir, Bhavanagar, Baroda, Travancore, and Alwar, and the Rajas of Faridkote, and Mayurbhanj were the Patrons of the College. Mrs. Annie Besant was the President of the Board of Trustees which included stalwarts like Justice Asutosh Mookerjee, Justice P.C. Chatterji, Justice N.G. Chandavarkar, Justice S. Subramania Aiyar, Justice Sarada Charan Mitra, Mahamahopadhyaya Mahesh Chandra Nyayaratna, Pandit Bishambhar Nath, Colonel H.S. Olcott and Seth Dharmsey Morarji Gokuldas.

Within the first six years of its existence, Mrs. Besant was able to collect four lakhs of rupees for the Permanent Fund of the College and sufficient funds for the construction of additional buildings, class-rooms, hostel, gymnasium etc.

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CENTRAL HINDU COLLEGE – 1898

The most important and enduring piece of work accomplished by the College was the issue, in 1902, of the *Sanatana Dharma* Series of Hindu religious text-books comprising (1) the Catechism (2) the Elementary Text-book and (3) the Advanced Text Book. These books give, in a form suitable to students, a graduated outline of the fundamental principles of the *Sanatana Dharma*. It received the approbation of eminent Pandits throughout India.

Under the able guidance of Mrs. Besant and with the selfless service of her associates, the institution became a model for other Schools and Colleges.

The idea of establishing a national University was gradually shaping in the mind of Mrs. Besant and in the year 1907, she put forward the idea of establishing such a university at Banaras under the name of the University of India.

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CHAPTER XXIII

MOOTED THE IDEA OF THE HINDU UNIVERSITY – 1904

During his tours of the country while attending the Congress sessions, Pandit Malaviya had the opportunity of observing the conditions in the different spheres existing in the country and he came to the conclusion that in order to revitalize India as a nation, it was necessary to feed her youth with the ancient spiritual and moral food. This led him to organize in November 1900, a meeting of eminent persons at the Muir Central College, Allahabad for establishing a suitable and commodious Boarding House where Hindu students coming from various parts of the country to prosecute their studies in the Colleges at Allahabad could live under proper supervision and guidance, and receive instruction in such fundamental truths of the *Sanatana Dharma* as are accepted by Hindus of all denominations. Pandit Malaviya succeeded in securing the support of several leading men in this work besides that of Maharaja Prabhu Narayan Singh of Banaras, and also of the then Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces, Sir Antony Macdonnell. The foundation of the Boarding House was laid on July 27, 1901, the construction was started soon and the "MacDonnell University Hindu Boarding House" was ready in

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1903. This Boarding House was not meant exclusively for the students of Muir Central College but was open also to students of post-matriculation classes enrolled in other local colleges at Allahabad. This was the first concrete achievement of Pandit Malaviya in the field of education at Allahabad.

Soon he conceived the idea of a University which would revive the best traditions of the ancient Gurukulas of India where ten thousand students were taught and lodged and supplied food and clothing without any charge. And early in the year 1904 he promulgated his idea at a meeting held in the Mint House at Varanasi under the president-ship of Maharaja Prabhu Narayan Singh of Banaras.

The main features of the scheme of the University were first made public. It envisaged a University at Banaras comprising a College of Sanskrit Learning teaching Vedas, Vedangas, Smritis, Darsanas, Itihasas and Puranas; a College of Ayurveda, the science of life or healing with laboratories, botanical garden, hospital etc; a College of Sthapatya Veda and Arthashastra which would teach physical and social sciences and comprise technical institutions such as an agricultural college, a College of Gandharva Veda teaching the dramatic arts and also painting, sculpture etc; a Linguistic College teaching English and foreign languages. The University was to be residential. Students were to observe the laws of Brahmacharya throughout their student career. A prospectus of the proposed University was then prepared after many months of discussion and deliberation and was got printed. Copies of the same were circulated privately in October 1905, among a number of leading gentlemen of different provinces for consultation and the scheme was warmly approved by them.

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The twenty-first session of the Indian National Congress was held in Banaras from December 27 to 30, 1905 under the distinguished president-ship of Gopal Krishna Gokhale. The venue of the session was the hallowed ground of the Rajghat plateau on the banks of the Ganga. This session was a landmark in the history of the Congress as it was being held just after the Partition of Bengal which led to the awakening of a new national spirit in India. The Congress lodged its protest against the Partition and asked for its annulment or modification so as to keep the entire Bengali people under one administration.

Pandit Malaviya was a member of the Reception Committee and he played an important role in making arrangements for the success of the session. A number of distinguished Indian leaders, among whom were eminent educationists, who had come for the Congress session, assembled in the Town Hall at Banaras on the 31st of December 1905 and discussed the prospectus of the proposed Hindu University already circulated in October 1905. The decision to start a Hindu University was announced in the Congress *pandal* on 1st January 1906.

A Provisional Committee was then appointed to give final shape to the prospectus and to promote the scheme and collect funds. The funds collected were to be spent only after the Committee was registered as a Society.

According to Parmanand, Tilak while appreciating the scheme as very laudable, wanted to know if Malaviyaji was prepared to devote the rest of his life to its realization. Malaviyaji asked for twenty four hour's time to make up his mind about the answer and the next day announced to the same audience his determination to do so. There was loud applause followed

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by announcements by many distinguished scholars, Jadunath Sarkar, Prafulla Chandra Roy and Jagdish Chandra Bose of their intention to give three years of their life to the service of the University.

This information about Tilak's question, Malaviyaji's answer thereto and the announcement made by scholars has been orally given by Sri Narbadeshwar Prasad Upadhyaya, Advocate (Retd.), Allahabad High Court who was at the time a student at the Muir Central College, and attended the meeting at Banaras.

But Ram Naresh Tripathi in his book 'Pujya Malaviyaji ke sath tees din' gives a different account of how Malaviyaji came to dedicate himself to the work of the Hindu University. According to him he took a vow earlier in the year 1905 at the *Triveni Sangam* (the Confluence at Allahabad) to devote his life to the establishment of a Hindu University where Indian culture and western science would be studied side by side and teachers and students would be drawn from all over the country without distinction of creed or caste.

This account seems to be plausible as Malaviyaji was very much keen to build a Hindu University long before this Congress Session of 1905 and to dedicate his life for the establishment of Banaras Hindu University.

Soon after this, the scheme was laid before the *Sanatan Dharma Mahasabha* held at the time of the Kumbha Mela at Allahabad from the 20th to the 29th January, 1906 under the president-ship of Jagadguru Sankaracharya of Govardhan Math. The Mahasabha appointed a Committee with Pandit Malaviya

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as its secretary to take necessary steps to give effect to the scheme. The first prospectus of the University incorporating the decisions of the *Sanatan Dharma Mahasabha* was then issued to the public by Pandit Malaviya on 12th March 1906. The scheme met with instant approval and support from the press and the public. But due to the political unrest that followed the Partition of Bengal, the attention of the entire country was focused on greater problems and Pandit Malaviya was occupied with the important political events taking place in the country. He was elected president of the Congress session due to be held at Lahore in December 1909 and his responsibilities in the Congress had increased at that time. An organized endeavour to carry out the Hindu University proposal had, therefore, to be put off year after year. The scheme was, however, kept alive by Pandit Malaviya through discussions and consultations with leading educationists, patriots and leaders of the Hindu community.

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CHAPTER XXIV

PARTITION OF BENGAL

Resolutions of the Congress were adopted unanimously till 1904. Congress had faith in the British people. Congress believed that they would grant India its freedom when they were convinced that it deserved to be free. Therefore much care and attention was taken to secure the goodwill and sympathy of the British people. The hope was encouraged by the fact that the radical section of British politicians and the Irish Home rulers were not only willing but also eager to support the cause of Indian freedom.

A change came over the attitude of Indian politicians towards Government as a result of the policy adopted during the administration of Lord Curzon and the measures taken to suppress the resulting agitation. He reconstituted the Municipal Corporation of Calcutta and the universities, reduced popular representation in every case. But he delivered an opinion which was painful to educated Indians in general, when he said in the course of a speech at Calcutta that Indians were by their environment, their heritage and their upbringing "unequal to the responsibilities of high office under British rule."

But many even among British members of the Indian Civil Services were sympathetic to Indian aspirations. It was a retired

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British civilian who organized the Indian National Congress and many of them presided over its sessions. One of them Henry Cotton, in his book 'New India' described educated Indians as "probably the most cultural body of non-European origin in the world" and condemned Lord Curzon's treatment of this class in strong language.

There was a corresponding decline in the warmth of the Indian feeling towards the British people. The tone of the most reasonable of the Indian leaders like Gokhale and Malaviyaji also stiffened.

The Indian National Congress was in a more critical mood towards the Government than until now, when it met at Bombay on December 26, 1904. The president of the year was Sir Henry Cotton who had lately retired from the Indian Civil Service. The resolutions of the year were expressed in strong language demanding administrative reform and political advancement, protesting against the forward policy pursued on the North-West frontier and the projected partition of Bengal. Malaviyaji seconded the most important resolution of the session in which far-reaching constitutional advance was demanded.

The partition of Bengal came off before the next session of the Congress which had given powerful stimulus to political activity in the country. It gave rise to two new forces, communalism and terrorism. Malaviyaji had to reckon with both of them.

At that time, the province of Bengal included Bihar and Orissa, and was admittedly too large and too populous. The province of Bengal had an area of 489,500 km, and a population of over 80 million. Therefore it was difficult to administer it

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efficiently by a Lieutenant-Governor, unassisted by an Executive Council. A proposal for its partition by detaching Bihar and Chota Nagpur which were different from Bengal in their language, had been mooted earlier in 1896. This was favoured by experienced officials and leading public men.

Lord Curzon approached the issue of partition with the obvious object of weakening the nationalist movement in which the Bengalis were taking a leading part. The decision on the Partition of Bengal was announced on 19 July 1905. The partition took effect on 16 October 1905. The area occupied by Bengalee-speaking people was split into two. The western part of it was Bihar and Orissa, which had a Hindu majority, but included so many Bihari and Oriya speaking people that it ended up with a non Bengali speaking majority. The eastern part was to be combined with Assam, in which there would be a Muslim Majority of approximately six million, to create a new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam.

Its capital, Dacca was intended to become a cultural centre for Muslims in this part of the country. Assam was separated from East Bengal by the mighty unbridged river Brahmaputra. The difficulty of the people to reach the capital at Dacca was ignored.

Although it was officially claimed that partition on these lines was desired by the Musalmans of the provinces, the only Musalman leader, who did not belong to the hereditary aristocracy, who supported it was the Nawab Salim Ullah of Dacca. Many of the older dignitaries of the province regretted the measure as likely to make bitter the relations between Hindus and Musalmans which had till then been very cordial,

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both communities being proud of the rich culture of the province and devoted to the Bengalee language. Even Aga Khan, the affirmed champion of Muslim communal claims, was against the partition from the beginning and welcomed its modification seven years later, even at the cost of resigning his post as President of the Muslim League.

"A cruel wrong has been inflicted on our Bengalee brethren" said Gokhale in his presidential address at the twenty-first Congress session in 1905 at Banaras. A similar transition can be traced in the attitude of Malaviyaji.

The Muslims outnumbered the Hindus in Eastern Bengal and this alleviated the Bengali Muslims politically and economically. This resulted in a series of unprecedented agitations by the Hindus. They alleged that Lord Curzon had deliberately tried to divide the Hindus and the Muslims by drawing a line between the Hindu and the Muslim halves of Bengal. And by favouring the Muslims by giving them a new province in which they were in a clear majority, he had struck a deadly blow to Bengali national sentiment. They branded him as the upholder of the devilish policy of 'divide and rule'.

The Muslims of India welcomed the partition of Bengal, but the Hindu community strongly opposed it. They launched a mass movement, declaring October 16 as a day of mourning in Calcutta. Influenced by the Chinese boycott of American goods, the Hindus started the Swadeshi Movement against the British. In the meantime, the Hindus raised the Bande Mataram as the national cry, projecting Shivaji as a national hero. This organized anarchist movement took a terrorist turn resulting in political sabotage and communal riots.

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PARTITION OF BENGAL

In 1906, Rabindranath Tagore wrote *Amar Shonar Bangla* as a rallying cry for proponents of annulment of Partition, which, much later, in 1972, became the national anthem of Bangladesh.

Not satisfied with dividing the Bengali people on the basis of religion, Lord Curzon's Government took a number of other steps to create bitterness between the Hindus and Musalmans. A Musalman Association was founded at Dacca in October 1905 as a counterblast to the anti-partition agitation.

Orders were issued to encourage the selection of Musalmans for the appointment in Government service. The Police department recruited Muslim constables. Civil Hospitals advertised vacancies as for Musalmans. The acts of loot and violence by Musalmans against Hindus were encouraged.

This was a signal for a most extensive and intensive agitation on the part of the people and an equally intensive repression on the part of the Government. Processions, meetings and demonstrations were organized, but before long they were prohibited. Hartals came into existence and students and citizens alike were punished. Educational rules became strict and prohibited students from taking part in politics.

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CHAPTER XXV

BANARAS CONGRESS SESSION 1905

The Congress session was held at Banaras from December 27 to 30, 1905 on the hallowed ground of the Rajghat plateau on the banks of the Ganga under the distinguished presidentship of Gopal Krishna Gokhale. Malaviyaji was one of the fourteen members of the reception Committee and was initially assigned only to propose the vote of thanks. The difference that arose in the Subjects Committee over the wording of the resolution regarding Boycott as an answer to repression brought him forward to move the resolution as a compromise.

There was difference of opinion for the first time in Congress History in regard to offering a welcome to a member of the royal family as the Prince of Wales (later King George V) was to visit the country. The Subjects Committee opposed the proposed resolution of welcome and were ultimately accepted by a compromise, and to the message of welcome was added the request that the principles of the Queen's Proclamation be enforced in the Government of the country.

Confidence in the new Government in Britain was implicit in the appointment of the year's President, Gokhale to proceed to England and represent the Congress view-point to the public and the Parliament.

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The scheme of a Hindu University (which was already prepared and circulated in 1904) presented by the Maharaja was unanimously approved by the Congress. The President also received a message from the Aga Khan, who had for some years led the movement for a Muslim University at Aligarh, conveying his full sympathy with the Hindu University movement, promising a donation of Rs. 5,000 as a token of his support and expressing his strong hope that the University would receive a charter.

Malaviyaji moved the following resolution at the Congress session which had been arrived at by a compromise in the Subjects Committee:

> "Resolved that this Congress records its earnest and emphatic protest against the repressive measures which have been adopted by the authorities in Bengal after the people there had been compelled to resort to the boycott of foreign goods as a last protest, and perhaps the only constitutional and effective means left to them of drawing the attention of the British public to the action of the Government of India in persisting in their determination to partition Bengal, in utter disregard of the universal prayers and protests of the people."

In his speech he said about the various constitutional means adopted to prevent partition:-

> "Memorials, protest meetings, representations to the Secretary of State, petitions to the House of Commons supported by British M.P.s, debate; nothing came out of it.....

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"Any other people driven to that desperate condition would probably have taken steps worse than those that were adopted in Bengal.....Be it said to the credit of the young men of Bengal that in the midst of so much excitement not one case has been proved in which they have resorted to illegal or unjust means with the objects of getting redress.....Even the powerful voice of our friend Babu Surendra Nath Banerji has failed to penetrate into the ears of the powers that be.....Maharaja Sir Jyotindra Mohan Tagore and Sir Gooroodas Banerjee.....pressed upon Government the wisdom of listening to the prayers of the people. No response yet. People then said, `We shall raise another noise which probably will be carried across the waters and make a stir in England. We shall boycott foreign goods.'.....It was an extreme measure which they found themselves compelled under the circumstances to adopt.

"It is not that Congress advocates the adoption of boycott all over the country generally.....The Government, if they are really earnest and sincere in their desire to see that this spirit which the boycott movement has created ought to subside, have this remedy in their own hands. Let them undo the great mischief which has been done by this unnecessary partition, and boycott, as a boycott, shall cease tomorrow (Cheers). Remember gentlemen, we ought not to mix up Swadeshi with boycott. It is a great mistake to mix up the two. Bengal was partitioned a short while ago. But Swadeshi movement is as old, within my own personal knowledge, as thirty years ago. The doctrine was practiced when I was at school

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and.....I adopted it the moment I entered College and have benefited by it. That movement stands on quite a different footing and it would be wrong to confuse the Swadeshi movement with boycott.....Congress would rejoice to see boycott come to an end if the cause which has given rise to it were to cease to exist."

The official report of the session (drafted by Hume) gives the following account of the speech which includes a handsome tribute to Malaviyaji.

"It is an open secret that there was some difference of opinion over the boycott resolution in the Subjects Committee but in the end that difference of opinion was overcome and complete unanimity attained by the exercise of that sweet reasonableness which is one of the best known characteristics of the Hon'ble Mr. Malaviya. He moved the resolution in an able, moderate and persuasive speech and his exposition of the peculiar need of boycott at the juncture at which it was used and its differentiation from Swadeshi proper was particularly happy."

Malaviyaji seconded the resolution of thanks to the president which was moved by Sundar Lal. Malaviyaji's speech was described by Hume as "short and sweet", and it "voiced the love and trust of India (in Gokhale) in words of deepest gratitude and admiration, endorsed by tumultuous applause."

At the same time the first session of the Social Conference was also held under the president-ship of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Judge of the Bombay High Court, which in conformity with the progressive creed of the Congress advocated far-reaching social reforms at a rapid pace. Malaviyaji would not participate in

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such a programme. He was positively opposed to social reform by legislation and believed that such reforms should come from within. Therefore Malaviyaji, Tilak and some other Congressmen held a separate meeting and deliberated on the means of uniting Hindu society. This was one of the tasks of the Hindu Sangathan.

The following episode connected with this session shows the spirit in which Malaviyaji worked for the Congress. He was only a member in the Reception Committee.

Raja Munshi Madho Lal, a prominent citizen of Banaras was Secretary of the Committee and was responsible for the accommodation of delegates and other visitors.

By mistake no arrangement had been made for the lodging of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, who was elected as a President of the Social Conference. Ram Narayan Misra who was deputed to receive Sir Narayan at the railway station gives the following account of his confusion and how Malaviyaji solved his problem:

> "Information was received by wire the day before the expected arrival of Sir Narayan that he would reach Banaras early the next morning. Congress was meeting at Rajghat Fort, where Raja Madho Lal also had his camp. I went there at night to meet him but could not find him. In my perplexity I ran to his garden house in the city but he was not there either. I met Sri Gokhale, Congress president-elect of the year, who was staying there and requested him to accommodate Sir Narayan with him. He told me that Sir Narayan needed a whole house to himself, that he was not like Mahadeva Ranade who would be content with a little space anywhere. Thus, I proceeded

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to the Kashi railway station without being sure of the arrangements for the lodging of the guest to be received and felt very uneasy over the situation. The train arrived duly but as a stroke of luck, Sir Narayan did not turn up. He had stayed behind at Moghal Sarai and sent a message through his servant that he would come by train three or four hours later. I thanked Providence and went to Raja Madho Lal's tent at 5 a.m. It was a cold December morning and I was told that the Raja was still asleep. Behind the place I saw in a tent Malaviyaji who had just finished his morning ablutions. Seeing me he asked what brought me there at that early hour. I stated my difficulty on which he laughingly said, "Bring Sir Narayan to this very tent." Simultaneously he stood up and ordered his servant to remove his things from the tent to the ground under the neighbouring trees. I begged him not to do so, as some arrangement would certainly be made but he would not listen. He started placing his things outside the tent himself and told me to proceed to the station and bring the guest in. The train was about to arrive. I brought Sir Narayan shortly after and he stayed in that very tent. Malaviyaji arranged for his own lodging in an enclosed space under two trees. After day-break many people saw Malaviyaji under the tree."

The city of Banaras became the centre of political activities due to the effects left behind by Congress session and the Bengal partition. Banaras was also the headquarters of the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal. Malaviyaji gradually dissociated himself from the Mahamandal and had to guard against the Hindu University coming under the same cloud.

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CHAPTER XXVI

PROGRESS OF THE HINDU UNIVERSITY WORK

Pandit Malaviya had, as a result of discussions and consultations, which had been going on since the publication of the first prospectus of the Hindu University, revised his scheme making some important changes. On the occasion of the Congress session held at Allahabad in December 1910, he decided to resume work on the University which had been put off year after year.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Besant prepared a Memorial, intending to secure the promise of a Royal Charter first and then to appeal for funds which, she felt sure, would be forthcoming at once. The scheme proposed by her was for an all-denominational University of India. The idea was that the university should be in the beginning an examining body only to be developed into a teaching one later on and should affiliate Colleges of all denominations, each of which would teach its own religion to its students. It was further mentioned in the petition that:

"The well-established Central Hindu College, Banaras, has given permission to the proposed University to use its building for Examination and office purposes; they trust

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however, that the University will, later, become a teaching body, and so fulfil the true ideal of University life, unknown at present in India, and for this they have made preparation in the powers asked for."

The proposed Rules of Management laid down that the Governing body of the University shall be the Board of Trustees and the Senate.

The financial control of the University was to be vested in the Board of Trustees consisting of eighteen persons— one Theosophist, nine Hindus, two Parsis, three Mohammedans, one Sikh, one Buddhist and one Jain.

The educational control was to be vested in the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor and the Elected Fellows of the Senate.

Mrs. Besant's petition addressed to 'the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council' was sent up to the Secretary of State for India by the Viceroy, Lord Minto, in September 1910 and subsequently it was referred back by the Secretary of State for India, to the Government of India, for opinion on various points. By this time, the circumstances in the country had changed which necessitated Mrs. Besant to modify her original scheme for the establishment of the University of India. The important changes proposed were:

1. The name of the University will be "University of Banaras"; in Hindi, the "Kashi Vishwavidyalaya".
2. "The most marked speciality of the proposed institution is that it will be a residential and teaching University, and will thus fulfil the true ideal of University life, at present unknown in India.

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3. "The second speciality of the proposed University is that it will affiliate all educational institutions in which religion and morality form an integral part of the education given.

4. "The third important speciality will be the preservation and further evolution of Hindu culture by placing in the forefront Indian philosophy, History and literature, and seeking in these, and in the study of Sanskrit, the mother-language of India, the chief means of such culture. At the same time western thought will be amply studied, and western knowledge will be used to enrich the expanding national life.

5. "The already existing Central Hindu College will be used as a nucleus for the University, and several other colleges will be built to carry out the objects above-named."

Amalgamation of both the schemes

Mrs. Besant and Pandit Malaviya met in Calcutta in March 1911, talked over the situation and decided to join hands. A further meeting was held between them and a few other leading Hindus at Allahabad on the 8th of April 1911. Mrs. Besant left for England from Bombay on 22nd April 1911. She was to return to India only in October 1911 after a sojourn of six months in England. Before leaving Banaras for abroad, she recorded that:

"The charter asked for by the powerful group of representative men who are working with me includes all the powers needed for carrying out the Hon. Pandit's noble

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idea. His co-operation will render possible the immediate foundation of a residential University, the crying educational need of the time, and a Theological Faculty will be instituted, controlled by carefully selected repre-sentatives of the *Sanatana Dharma*.

"While I look after the interests of the scheme in England, the Hon. Pandit will, in India, enlist the sympathies of the Ruling Princes, rouse popular enthusiasm, and collect the necessary funds. The Pandit's fine eloquence and transparent sincerity make him a worthy leader in this noble cause, and he will live in History with the University of Banaras."

During her stay in England, Mrs. Besant discussed with the Secretary of State for India the modifications made by her in her original scheme for the establishment of a University of India and it was hoped that she would return to India with the promise of the Government to grant a Charter to the proposed University of Banaras.

Malaviyaji takes the lead

As Pandit Malaviya had taken the decision to resume his work towards the establishment of the Hindu University in 1910, he gave up his lucrative practice at the Bar and concentrated his attention to achieve his cherished goal expeditiously. He had already taken a vow at the *Triveni Sangam* to dedicate his life for the establishment of the Banaras Hindu University. In July 1911, he issued his revised scheme of the proposed University along with a pamphlet entitled "The Hindu University of Banaras -Why it is wanted and what it aims at". A copy of

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33this pamphlet along with the revised scheme of the University was forwarded by him to all concerned, with his covering letter dated 15th July, 1911. The letter was sent from the Hindu University Office, Allahabad.

In the revised scheme, the objects of the University were thus formulated :

1. To promote the study of the Hindu Shastras and of Sanskrit literature generally as a means of preserving and popularizing for the benefit of the Hindus in particular and of the world at large in general, the best thoughts and culture of the Hindus and all that was good and great in the ancient civilization of India;

2. To promote learning and research generally in Arts and Science in all branches;

3. To advance and diffuse such scientific, technical and professional knowledge combined to help the necessary practical training, as is best calculated to help in promoting indigenous industries and in developing the material resources of the country; and

4. To promote the building up of character in youth by making religion and ethics an integral part of education.

Earlier, Pandit Malaviya's revered father had given him 101 rupees as a blessing of Lord Viswanatha for building the University after an offering to Lord Viswanatha at Banaras. Pandit Malaviya thought of Lord Viswanatha as standing near Devi Annapurna in the temple of Annapurna at Kashi, with a begging bowl in his hand and asking for alms. Pandit Malaviya

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got this inspiration after receiving the 101 rupees from his father as a blessing of Lord Viswanatha, to ask for alms (charity) from the mother-like public to fill his begging bowl. Who would not give alms (charity) to Malaviyaji, that man of character, scholar and a true patriot? Particularly when that charity asked for is for the establishment of the University for the public.

On the 15th of July, 1911, Pandit Malaviya issued an appeal to the public for a crore of rupees. He said: "Relying on the grace and guidance of the Source of all good, and on the spirit of self-sacrifice and charity of my Hindu brothers and sisters, and in the name of that, whom all Hindus hold sacred and dear——

I ask for the present for the following subscriptions:

20 donations of Rs.1 lakh each or more:

10 donations of Rs.50,000 each or more:

50 donations of Rs.20,000 each or more:

100 donations of Rs.10,000 each or more:

Besides these I shall ask for 15 special donations.

But of course all donations, however large or small, will be thankfully received, and a record of them will be preserved in the Registers of the First Subscribers to the Hindu University Fund".

No sooner the appeal was issued than Pandit Malaviya commenced his collection campaign. Deputations were organized. The idea of the Hindu University really caught the

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imagination of the people who readily opened out their purses and their hearts for the University, the moment they were acquainted with its aims and objects.

Maharaja of Darbhanga joins the movement

While Pandit Malaviya and Mrs. Besant were working with their respective schemes for the establishment of a University at Banaras, a number of Hindu gentlemen interested in the study of Hindu shastras were also considering a proposal for the establishment of a high class educational institution - Sarada Viswa Vidyalaya - at Banaras under the auspices of the Maharaja of Darbhanga Sir Rameshwar Singh. Pandit Malaviya met him at Allahabad in July 1911 with a view to secure his support for the scheme of the Hindu University. The Maharaja told him that he could attend public meetings in support of the cause after he had been assured of the support of the Government of India towards the scheme. It was then decided that the Maharaja of Darbhanga should approach the Government and ascertain its views. With this object the Maharaja went to Simla in August 1911 but he was informed that the question was under the consideration of the Government and it would take some weeks to get a reply. The Maharaja of Darbhanga returned to Simla early in October 1911 and Pandit Malaviya joined him there on the 10th of October 1911. The same day the Maharaja wrote a letter to Mr. Harcourt Butler, Member for Education. The next day i.e. on the 11th of October, Maharaja of Darbhanga and Pandit Malaviya waited upon the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge and Mr. Harcourt Butler. The result of this interview was favourable and Mr. Butler assured his ungrudging co-operation in furthering any scheme

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that might commend itself to the Government of India and the Secretary of the State. Mr. Harcourt Butler conveyed this assurance through his letter dated 12th October, 1911 addressed to the Maharaja of Darbhanga. After receiving this letter, the Maharaja of Darbhanga, Sir Rameshwar Singh, decided to work in co-operation with Pandit Malaviya and gave his wholehearted support to the movement. His very first act was to make a very handsome donation of Rupees five lakhs to the Hindu University. He also joined the deputation for collection of funds.

The collection campaign which commenced on 15th July 1911 was going on in full swing and by the middle of October 1911, the subscriptions promised for the University reached a total of nearly thirty five lakhs of rupees.

The Hindu University Society formed

Mrs. Annie Besant returned to India on October 6 and reached Banaras on the 21st of October 1911. Pandit Malaviya met her on the same day and discussed with her all the developments that had taken place during her absence. And in the evening on that memorable day, Mrs. Besant appeared with Pandit Malaviya and some of the members of the Board of Trustees of the C.H.C., at the Central Hindu College premises and announced that the amalgamation of the three schemes for a University was an accomplished fact. The good news quickly flew by wire all over the country.

The next day, on the 22nd of October 1911, Maharaja Rameshwar Singh of Darbhanga, Mrs. Annie Besant, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Pandit Sundar Lal, Babu Ganga Prasad

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Varma, Babu Bhagavan Das and Munshi Iswar Saran met at Banaras. The conclusions then arrived at were embodied in the following short memorandum, which was drawn up and signed by all the seven persons named above.

"1. That the name of the University shall be Hindu University.

2. That the first governing body shall consist of representatives of the Hindu community and Mrs. Annie Besant and representative trustees of the Central Hindu College.

3. That the theological faculty shall be entirely in the hands of the Hindus.

4. That the petition for a Charter now before the Secretary of the State for India shall be withdrawn."

Thus the three schemes happily blended into one like Ganga, Yamuna, and Sarasvati at the Triveni Sangam, Goddess Sarasvati smiling and blessing.

The above-quoted memorandum was forwarded to Mr. Harcourt Butler by the Maharaja of Darbhanga on the 23rd of October 1911 and on the same day, Mrs. Besant cabled to the Secretary of State for India, Marquess of Crewe withdrawing her petition.

Steps were immediately taken to form a deputation with representatives from each province of India to wait upon Mr. Harcourt Butler. The details of the outlines of the scheme were fully discussed and finalized at a representative meeting of Hindu gentlemen held on 28th November 1911 at the

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Darbhanga Castle, Allahabad, under the president-ship of the Maharaja of Darbhanga. At this meeting it was further decided that the promoters of the University should register themselves as a Society under Act XXI of 1860, as had been already suggested by Pandit Malaviya in his letter dated 15th July 1911. The Memorandum of Association for the formation of the Hindu University Society was drawn up and signed at Allahabad on the 28th November, 1911 by Maharaja Rameshwar Singh of Darbhanga, Mrs. Annie Besant, V.P. Madhava Rao, Gokaran Nath Misra, Radha Kumud Mukherji, Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Adityaram Bhattacharya, Ganga Prasad Varma and Bhagavan Das. The Committee of Management of the Society consisted of sixty one members including:

Maharaja Rameshwar Singh of Darbhanga	President
Sri Gooroodas Banerjee Mrs. Annie Besant and Dr. Rash Behari Ghose	Vice-Presidents
Pandit Sundar Lal	Hon. Secretary
Babu Bhagavan Das Pt. Gokaran Nath Misra Pt. Krishnaram Mehta	Honorary
Rai Iqbal Narain Gurtu Babu Mangla Prasad	Joint Secretary

Hindu University Deputation meets member for education

The Coronation Darbar was going to be held at Delhi on 12th December, 1911. Delhi attracted people from all parts of the country. The Hindu University Deputation went to Delhi by

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a special train from Allahabad and met the member for Education, Mr. Harcourt Butler on 4th December 1911. The Deputation was a very representative one consisting of thirty-two leading men coming from all parts of the country. It was cordially received by Mr. Harcourt Butler. The draft constitution of the University was presented to him by the Deputation for consultation and advice. Several points were informally dis-cussed with him on that occasion. It was clearly understood that even if the Act is passed it would not come into operation until a Society had a sum of Rs.50 lakhs in the Bank and was in a position to raise a further sum of one crore of rupees.

Everyone in India rejoiced at the announcement made at the Coronation Darbar of George V of the reversal of the partition of Bengal, which was in a way a victory for the Indian National Congress.

Hindu University Society registered

The first meeting of the Hindu University Society was held in Delhi just after the deputation had met Mr. Harcourt Butler, Member for Education, Government of India and it was decided to begin the work of the Society without any delay. Soon after the members of the deputation returned to Allahabad from Delhi, the registration of the Hindu University Society as an incorporated Society under the Societies Registration Act XXI of 1860 was formally effected on the 15th of December, 1911. An office of the Society was opened at No. 4 Cooper Road, Allahabad on 1st January, 1912. A branch office was opened at Banaras to answer enquiries. Local Committees were formed in various other places.

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PROGRESS OF THE HINDU UNIVERSITY WORK

The first work undertaken by the Society was to prepare a complete list of the names of the donors who had promised donations. The number of donors had already exceeded five thousand and at several places no regular list of donors had been prepared.

The campaign that was started in July 1911, for collection of funds for the Hindu University, by organizing deputations under the leadership of Pandit Malaviya had already taken the shape of a big movement for revivification of the great Indian nation and restoration of its pristine glory, for combining religion with education for the purpose of developing the national spirit which was the foremost and pressing need of the country, for placing at the service of the nation efficiently trained young men of high moral character filled with patriotism and qualified to promote Indian industries in a variety of ways, for reorganizing the Hindu society and to promote righteousness and love for the motherland.

There was great enthusiasm among the public and the Hindu University Deputation was given a warm welcome everywhere. Many poets had composed stirring poems to spread the movement throughout the country.

Malaviyaji had felt, even before organizing the deputations, that it would not be possible for the deputation to visit every place in the country, and so he had said:

> "The ground must be prepared by local workers. Let it be firmly impressed in the mind of every Hindu that in the organization of the Hindu University lies the best hope for the social advancement and the national uplifting of the Hindu community. Let every soul among them feel

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that not only the progress and prosperity but also the character and honour of the Hindus are involved in the success of this great educational undertaking. And it may safely be predicted that every man and woman among them will contribute whatever of time, energy and resources he or she can, to build up the proposed Temple of Learning on the banks of mother Ganga in the holy Kashi of Vishveshwara."

The message of Malaviyaji was carried to every nook of this grand and holy spiritual land, and the prediction contained in his message came true. The poor and the rich, peasants and princes, all contributed their mite towards the funds for the University. Contributions came from every part of the country, and people in the farthest corners of the holy land showed enthusiasm to rebuild Kashi again as the cultural capital of India.

By the end of March 1913, the total of promised subscriptions exceeded eighty lakhs but the actual amount realized was only a little over Rs.21 lakhs. Taking into account (1) the big donations to be received from some of the Ruling Chiefs, (2) the donation in the shape of property, (3) other definite amounts of donations and (4) the capitalized value of the perpetual grants of the Jodhpur, Kashmir and Bikaner Durbars, the financial position in the beginning of April 1913 indicated that the total amount of Rs.50 lakhs needed for starting the University had already been secured. The President of the Hindu University Society, Maharaja Darbhanga, therefore, addressed a letter to Sir Harcourt Butler on 28th April 1913, explaining to him to consider the question of introducing

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legislation for the establishment of the University in the ensuing cold weather.

In reply, Sir Harcourt stated in his letter dated 2nd June 1913:

"...I note your desire to go ahead with the preparation of a scheme and it will perhaps be of some assistance to you to know the conditions, the fulfilment of which the Government of India regard as precedent to the introduction of any scheme. These are:

1. That a suitable site be provided;
2. That the Central Hindu College be transferred to the University;
3. That a sum of Rs.50 lakhs must be collected. In this amount may be included the capitalized value of the property mentioned in paragraph 4 of your letter and the perpetual grants mentioned in paragraph 9 of your letter, provided the documentary title is satisfactory in the case of the latter and the possession of the property has been made over in the case of the former.
4. That the constitution of the University be on the lines to be indicated to you hereafter;
5. That a Committee, appointed for the purpose, report that the Central Hindu College is fit to be developed into a residential and teaching University.

"...The Secretary of State, as you are aware has reserved full discretion in regard to every detail of any scheme that may eventually be laid before him."

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Fulfilment of Government's conditions

Pandit Malaviya had already seen some sites and he was investigating various details about these, viz., the position of the site, its elevation, nature of soil etc. There were five sites in view;

1. Nagwa to the south of the city of Banaras;
2. Rajghat plateau in the northern side of the city;
3. Kamachcha where the Central Hindu College was situated;
4. Saranath about 12 km. away from the city of Banaras;
5. Harahua, a village about 5 km. away from the Shivpur station.

Sir Harcourt Butler, Member for Education, Govt. of India, Sri James Meston, Lt. Governor of U.P. and Mr. Sharp, Secretary to the Government of India inspected these sites on July 27, 1914 and it was finally decided to have the Nagwa lands for the location of the University.

The second condition mentioned in Sir Harcourt's letter dated 2nd June 1913 was that the Central Hindu College be transferred to the University. The Board of Trustees of the Central Hindu College had taken a decision on 4th May 1913 itself that the management of the Central Hindu College should be taken up by the Hindu University Society. Necessary action to amalgamate the Central Hindu College Association with the Hindu University Society had to be taken under section 12 of Act XXI of 1860. It took a long time to complete all the legal formalities in this connection and the amalgamation of the

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Central Hindu College Association with the Hindu University Society became final only on the 27th November, 1914. The Central Hindu College and the Central Hindu Collegiate School along with Ranvir Pathshala were transferred to the Hindu University Society and the charge of the Central Hindu Girl's School was made over to the Hindu Girl's School Society. (In the year 1918 the Central Hindu Girl's School was also taken over by the Banaras Hindu University and was placed under the management of the Central Hindu School Board.)

The third condition was related to the collection of Rupees fifty lakhs before the introduction of any scheme. It would have been easier to realize the promised donations once the legislation for the establishment of the University was introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council. The workers of the Hindu University Society were working in a sustained and systematic manner to raise funds for the University and by the beginning of the year 1915, the actual collection reached the required figure.

The fourth condition was regarding the constitution of the University. The Hindu University Society had already submitted a draft constitution of the University for the consideration of the Government but the letter dated 2nd June 1913 of the Government stated that "the constitution of the University be on lines to be indicated hereafter". It took more than one year for the member in-charge of Education, Government of India to send a further communication to the Hindu University Society in this regard. This communication was dated 18th July 1914 and it contained the powers which the Government wanted to reserve for itself. The conditions imposed by the

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Government called forth comments of various kinds in the press all over India. Public opinion was generally against the acceptance of such conditions as it was felt they would deprive the University of Freedom and hamper its development. Some persons suggested that if the University could be had with honour, well and good; otherwise the funds collected could be utilized in other good ways.

The latter half of the year 1914 proved to be a crucial period for the Hindu University Society. Intricate and apparently interminable negotiations had to be conducted and by the beginning of the year 1915 things came to a definite shape.

A press communiqué was issued by the Hindu University Society Committee of Management and published on 22nd January, 1915 outlining the scheme generally agreed upon. A meeting of the Hindu University Society was then held on 30th January 1915. The draft bill was discussed clause by clause and a Sub-Committee was appointed to revise the regulations and to give effect to the various resolutions passed by the meeting. The draft bill was finally discussed by the Government members with the above-mentioned Sub-Committee before introducing it in the Legislative Council.

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CHAPTER XXVII

B.H.U. ACT PASSED ON OCTOBER 1, 1915

The Banaras Hindu University Bill was introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council on 22nd March 1915 by Sir Harcourt Butler and while doing so he said:

> "My Lord, this is no ordinary occasion. We are watching today the birth of a new and, many hope, a better type of University in India. The main features of this University, which distinguish it from existing Univer-sities, will be, first, that it will be a teaching and residential University; secondly, that while it will be open to all castes and creeds, it will insist upon religious instruction for Hindus; and thirdly, that it will be conducted and managed by the Hindu community and almost entirely by non-officials."

Sir Harcourt also remarked:

> "If there was ever an all-India University, it is this."

Ending his speech he said:

> "I confess that the other day, when I was standing opposite Ramnagar, on the site where your University buildings will, I hope, soon be rising in stately array, and looked down the river Ganges to the ghats at Kashi which

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swept before me in the distance, I felt that if I was a Hindu I should be proud indeed of the achievement of my people, and at the same time I felt some little pride myself that I was a member of a Government which had joined in one more large endeavour to combine the ancient and honoured culture of India with the culture of the modern western world."

The bill was referred to a Select Committee and it came up with the report for final reading before the Imperial Legislative Council on 1st October, 1915. It was passed by the Imperial Legislative Council the same day and on receiving the assent of the Governor General and Viceroy, the Banaras Hindu University Act was placed upon the Statute-book during the Viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge, as Act No. XVI of 1915.

The news was received with joy on all sides. The staff and students of the Central Hindu College, School and the Pathshala assembled before the Saraswati Temple in the College campus at Kamachcha, on the morning of October 4, 1915 to offer prayers.

Pandit Malaviya was a member of the Legislative Council and he spoke in the Council when the B.H.U. Bill was introduced on 22nd March, 1915. He again spoke on 1st October 1915 when the Bill was finally passed.

Section 1(2) of the B.H.U. Act stated that "it shall come into force on such date as the Governor General in Council may, by notification in the Gazette of India, direct".

Section 15(1) stated that "the Central Hindu College, Banaras, shall, from such date as the Governor-General in

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Council may, by notification in the Gazette of India, appoint in this behalf, be deemed to be a College maintained by the University, and the University may found and maintain other Colleges and institutions in Banaras for the purpose of carrying out instruction and research".

The Central Hindu College was being maintained by the Hindu University Society from 27th November 1914. The member for Education and the Educational Adviser of the Government of India visited Banaras on 18th October, 1915 to inspect and decide whether the accommodation in the existing buildings of the Central Hindu College was sufficient to carry on University work in them temporarily, pending the completion of the new buildings. They held discussions with Dr. Sundar Lal, Pandit Malaviya and other representatives of Hindu University Society and finally decided that the existing accommodation was insufficient for the purpose of beginning the work of the University in July 1916, even if the C.H.C. School and its boarding house could be removed to another place. So the possibility of starting the University's work in the Academic session 1916-17 was not in sight.

Malaviyaji had his own plans. The President of the Hindu University Society, Maharaja Rameshwar Singh of Darbhanga, extended an invitation to the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, to lay the foundation-stone of the University. He graciously consented to do so and sent the following telegram immediately:

"Have just read your letter, and I readily accept the very kind invitation to lay the foundation-stone of the new University, in the success of which I take the greatest possible interest. It will be a great pleasure to me to do so. I would suggest the 4th of February as a convenient

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date if there is no objection to it. You may certainly announce the contents of this telegram."

This telegram was received in the third week of October 1915. An enormous amount of work had to be done within a short period of three months for the Foundation-stone laying ceremony. A special meeting of the Hindu University Society was held on 30th October 1915, details were discussed and a foundation-stone Ceremony Committee was appointed. After finalizing the preliminaries, Malaviyaji proceeded on a long tour for the purpose of presenting invitations to the Ruling Princes and large donors personally and for collecting additional funds needed for acquiring the site and construction of buildings for the University.

The site for the University had already been selected at Nagwa situated to the south of the city of Varanasi. Necessary land at this site was acquired for having the foundation-stone laying ceremony and elaborate arrangements were made for the function.

Foundations-stone laying ceremony

Various special Vedic rites and ceremonies—Vastu Puja, Maha Rudrayajna, Gayatri Japa, Veda Patha etc. commenced a fortnight before the day of the main function. A *Yajna Shala* had been constructed for performing the Maha-Rudra-Yajna. Separate *mandapas* and *vitanas* were also erected in the vicinity of the Pandal for offering Puja to Guru Granth Sahib and for conducting auspicious rites and ceremonies by the Jains.

At an auspicious time on the 4th of February 1916, Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General and Viceroy, to whose broad-

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minded support the University owed a great deal, laid the foundation-stone of the University in the presence of a distinguished assembly of Governors, Ruling Princes and the elite of India. This auspicious day will ever remain memorable in the history of our country. Never before perhaps in its history did the highest representatives of the sovereign and the Rulers of so many Indian States met to cooperate with the people to bring into existence a great educational institution which sought to combine the usefulness and efficiency of the modern system of education with the high spiritual ideals of ancient India.

On the four days succeeding the 4th of February 1916, while religious ceremonies continued in the foundation-stone site, a course of lectures, which was in the nature of University Extension Lectures, was delivered in the Kashinaresh Hall of the Central Hindu College at Kamachcha, Varanasi everyday in the morning and evening (from the 5th to 8th February 1916).

Mahatma Gandhi who had just returned to India from South Africa and had come to Banaras to attend the foundation-stone laying ceremony on the invitation of Malaviyaji, was requested by the president of the Hindu University Society, in the Evening session lecture series on 6th February 1916, to address the audience. Gandhiji began by saying that he would 'think aloud' and literally did so.

The closing functions of the foundation-stone laying ceremony were held on the 8th of February 1916, the Vasanta Panchami Day.

The whole city of Banaras was in a festive mood for nearly a month.

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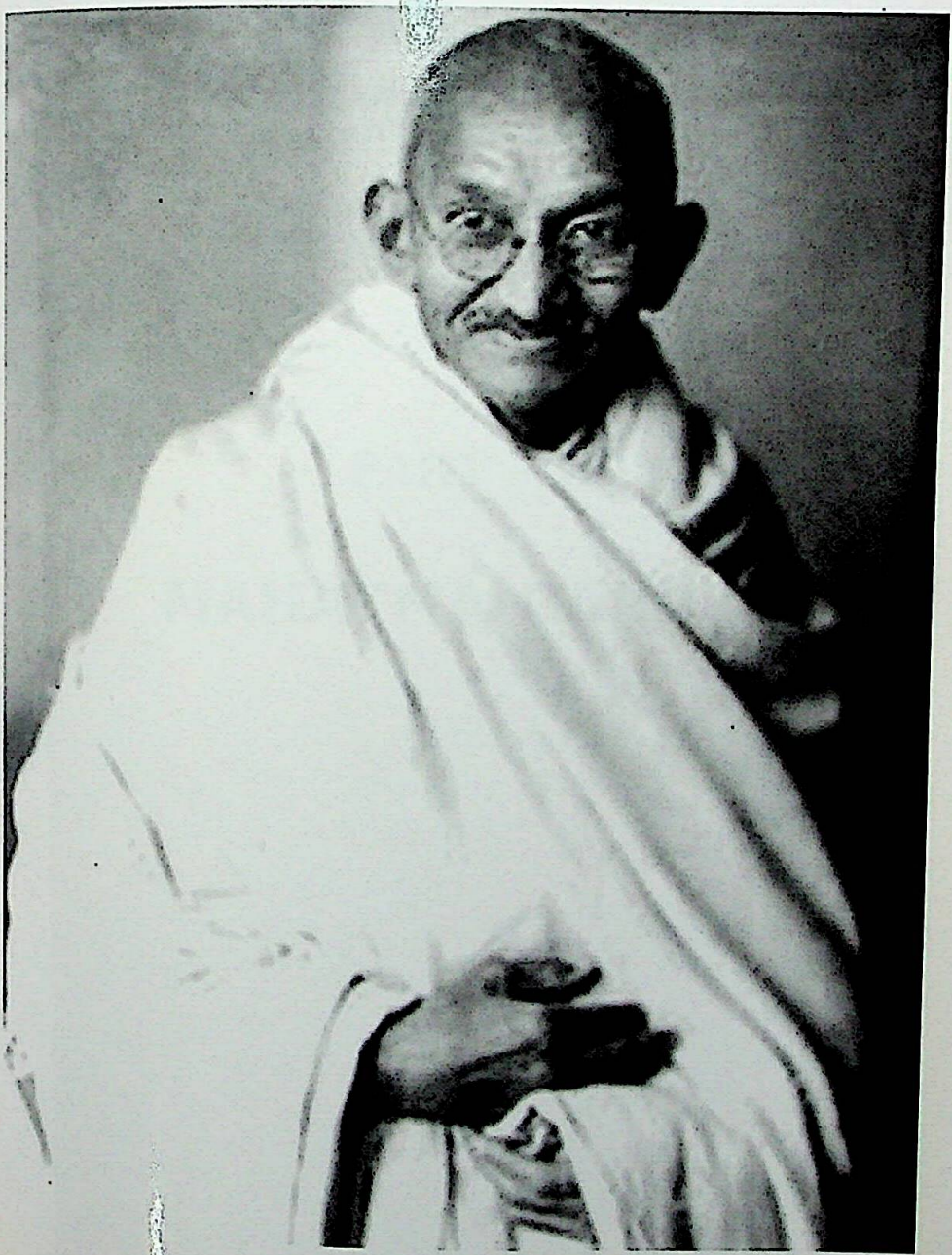

Mahatma Gandhi

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PART—II

MAHATMA GANDHI

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CHAPTER I

BIRTH, PARENTAGE AND EDUCATION

Gandhiji was born on 2nd October, 1869 at Porbandar, also known as Sudamapuri. His grandfather, Uttamchand Gandhi was holding the post of Diwan in Porbandar. He had six sons and two of them, Karamchand Gandhi and Tulsidas Gandhi were also Prime Ministers in Porbandar, one after the other. Karamchand Gandhi (also known as Kaba Gandhi) was the father of Mahatma Mohandas Gandhi. His mother's name was Putlibai.

In the year 1876, Karamchand Gandhi left Porbandar for Rajkot to become a member of the Rajasthani Court. For some time he held the post of Prime Minister in Rajkot and then in Vankaner. He was a pensioner of the Rajkot state when he died in the year 1885 at the age of 63.

Mohandas Gandhi had his primary and high school education at Rajkot; and he passed the matriculation examination in 1887. Mavji Dave, an old friend and adviser of the family who had kept up his connection with the family even after the death of Kaba Gandhi, suggested that Mohandas should go to England and qualify himself to become a barrister which would enable him to occupy the post of Prime Minister in Porbandar. But Putlibai was not willing to send her son abroad. All the methods tried by Gandhiji to win over his mother

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failed. At last Becharji Swami, who too was a family adviser like Mavji Dave came to the help of Gandhiji. Originally he was a Modh Bania but he had become a Jain monk. He told Putlibai: "I shall get the boy solemnly to take the three vows, and then he can be allowed to go." He administered the oath and Gandhiji vowed not to touch wine, woman and meat. This done, Gandhiji's mother gave her permission. Then with the blessings of his mother, Gandhiji set off exultantly for Bombay and sailed from Bombay on the 4th of September 1888, reaching Southampton at the end of that month.

In England Gandhiji passed the London Matriculation with Latin and the Law Examinations; was called to the bar on the 10th of June 1891; was enrolled in the High Court on the 11th June and then sailed for home on the 12th June. After a twenty five days of voyage, he landed in Bombay on July 7th.

His elder brother had come to receive him at the dock on his arrival. Gandhiji was pining to see his mother. He did not know that she was no more in the flesh to receive him back into her bosom. His brother had kept him ignorant of her death, which took place whilst he was still in England. The sad news was now given to him and he performed the usual ablutions.

Enters Legal Profession

Gandhiji then decided to start legal practice in Bombay. The first case that he took up was in the Small Causes Court. Gandhiji says:

"This was my debut in the Small Causes Court. I appeared for the defendant and had thus to cross-

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Young Gandhi

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examine the plaintiff's witnesses. I stood up, but my heart sank into my boots. My head was reeling and I felt as though the whole court was doing likewise. I could think of no question to ask. The judge must have laughed, and the vakils no doubt enjoyed the spectacle. But I was past seeing anything. I sat down and told the agent that I could not conduct the case, that he had better engage Patel and have the fee back from me. Mr. Patel was duly engaged for Rs.51/-. To him, of course, the case was child's play.

"I hastened from the Court, not knowing whether my client won or lost the case, but I was ashamed of myself, and decided not to take up any more cases until I had courage enough to conduct them. Indeed I did not go to Court again until I went to South Africa.

"But there was another case in store for me at Bombay. It was a memorial to be drafted. A poor Musalman's land was confiscated in Porbandar. He approached me as the worthy son of a worthy father. His case appeared to be weak, but I consented to draft a memorial for him, the cost of printing to be borne by him. I drafted it and read it out to friends. They approved of it, and that to some extent made me feel confident that I was qualified enough to draft a memorial, as indeed I really was."

After a stay of six months in Bombay, Gandhiji returned to Rajkot where he set up his own office. Here he got along moderately well. Drafting applications and memorials brought him, on an average Rs.300/- a month.

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CHAPTER II

DESTINED TO WORK IN SOUTH AFRICA

Kathiawad, being a conglomeration of small states, petty intrigues between these states and intrigues of officers for power were the order of the day. To Gandhiji, the whole atmosphere appeared to be poisonous and he felt that he should be freed from this atmosphere. Fortunately he soon got an offer from a big firm, Dada Abdulla & Company doing business in South Africa. This firm had a big case in the Court there which had been going on for a long time. They were in need of a suitable person who would be able to instruct their counsel in a better way. Gandhiji accepted the offer and in April 1893 he left Rajkot for Bombay. Sailing in a steamship from there he reached Natal towards the close of May 1893. The port of Natal is Durban, also known as Port Natal. Dada Abdulla Sheth received him there.

Within a few days of his arrival in South Africa, Gandhiji made an intimate study of the hard conditions of the Indian settlers there, not only by reading and hearing about it but also through personal experience. He saw that "South Africa was no country for self-respecting Indian" and his "mind became more and more occupied with the question as to how this state of things might be improved".

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But his principal duty for the moment was to attend to the case of Dada Abdulla Sheth. The case was going on in the Transvaal (situated about 650 km. to the north of Natal). The defendants were in Pretoria (situated about 300 km. to the south west of the Transvaal). The defendant, Sheth Tyeb Haji Khan Muhammad, was a near relative of Dada Abdulla Sheth. He had in Pretoria the same position as was enjoyed by Abdulla Sheth in Natal. There was no public movement that could be conducted without him. He had great influence in Pretoria.

Gandhiji became fully engrossed in studying the case. The suit was for £ 40,000. Arising out of business transaction, it was full of intricacies of accounts. Part of the claim was based on promissory notes, and part on the specific performance of promise to deliver promissory notes. The defence was that the promissory notes were fraudulently taken and lacked sufficient consideration. There were numerous points of fact and law in this intricate case. Both parties had engaged the best attorneys and counsel.

The facts of Abdulla's case were very strong and the law was bound to be on his side. But Gandhiji saw that the litigation, if allowed to continue, would ruin both the plaintiff and the defendant, who were relatives and also belonged to the same city.

Gandhiji felt that his duty was to befriend both parties and bring them together. He strained every nerve to bring about a compromise. At last Tyeb Sheth agreed. An arbitrator was appointed, the case was argued before him, and Dada Abdulla won. Tyeb Sheth was required to pay him £ 37,000 and costs. Gandhiji knew that it was impossible for Tyeb Sheth to pay the whole sum immediately. By gentle persuasion

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Gandhiji brought around Sheth Abdulla to allow Tyeb Sheth to pay the money in moderate instalments spread over a very long period.

Gandhiji writes: "Both were happy over the result, and both rose in the public estimation. My joy was boundless. I had learnt the true practice of law. I had learnt to find out the better side of human nature and to enter mens' hearts. I realized that the true function of a lawyer was to unite parties riven asunder. The lesson was so indelibly burnt into me that a large part of my time during the twenty years of my practice as a lawyer was occupied in bringing about private compromises of hundreds of cases. I lost nothing thereby—not even money, certainly not my soul."

After the conclusion of the case of Sheth Abdulla, Gandhiji began to make preparations for returning to India. Just at that time, whilst turning over the sheets of some of the newspapers, he chanced to see a paragraph in a corner of one of them under the caption 'Indian Franchise'. It was with reference to the Bill then before the House of Legislature which sought to deprive the Indians of their right to elect members of the Natal Legislative Assembly. Gandhiji was ignorant of this Bill.

Abdulla Sheth had arranged a farewell party in honour of Gandhiji at Sydenham. Many guests had assembled there. Gandhiji then told Abdulla Sheth about the proposed Bill introduced in the Natal Legislative Assembly as reported in the newspaper on that day. Neither Abdulla Sheth nor other guests present there knew anything about it. Gandhiji said: "This Bill, if it passes into law, will make our lot extremely difficult. It is the first nail into our coffin. It strikes at the root of our self-respect."

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One of the guests said: "You cancel your passage by this boat, stay here a month longer, and we will fight as you direct us." All other guests present there joined him: "Indeed, indeed. Abdulla Sheth, you must detain Gandhibhai." Abdulla said: "You are quite right. Let us persuade him to stay on. But you should remember that he is a barrister. What about his fees?"

The mention of fees pained Gandhiji. He said: "Abdulla Sheth, fees are out of question. There can be no fees for public work. I can stay, if at all, as a servant. And as you know, I am not acquainted with all these friends. But if you believe that they will cooperate, I am prepared to stay a month longer. There is one thing however. Though you need not pay me anything, work of the nature we contemplate cannot be done without some funds to start with. Thus we may have to send telegrams, we may have to print some literature, some touring may have to be done, the local attorneys have to be consulted and as I am ignorant of your laws, I may need some law books for reference. All this cannot be done without money. And it is clear that one man is not enough for this work. Many must come forward to help him."

And a chorus of voices was heard : "Allah is great and merciful. Money will come in. Men there are, as many as you may need. You please consent to stay and all will be well."

The farewell party was thus turned into a working Committee. Gandhiji worked out in his mind an outline of the campaign. He ascertained the names of those who were on the list of voters, and made up his mind to stay on for a month. Gandhiji says: "Thus God laid the foundations of my life in South Africa and sowed the seed of the fight for national self-respect."

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CHAPTER III

AFRICA - ITS GEOGRAPHY

It is necessary here to give a brief account of South Africa and also of the Europeans and Indians settled there.

Africa is the biggest continent in the world. It is situated between the Latitude 36° North and 35° South and Longitude 26° West and 50° East. The equator passes almost through the middle of Africa. The Mediterranean Sea is on the North of Africa and the Red Sea on the North-East. To its South and West is the South Atlantic Ocean and on the East is the Indian Ocean, which stretches from Kanyakumari in India to the Antarctic at the South Pole. The total area of Africa is 30,221,532 Sq.Km. (11668598 Sq.miles).

The longest river in the world, Nile (6650 Kilometers in length) is in Africa. Four other long rivers — Zaire (4700 km.), Niger (4180 km.), Zambezi (3540 km.) and Orange (2188 km.) are also situated in Africa. The southern tip of Africa extending over an area of 1,223,201 Sq.km. is known as South Africa. It is located to the south of the Equator (i.e. in the Southern hemisphere) between 26° and 35° South Latitude, and 16° and 33° East Longitude.

India is located to the North-east of South Africa to the north of the Equator (i.e. in the Northern hemisphere) between

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8°4′ and 37°6′ North Latitude and 68°7′ and 97°25′ East longitude. The total land area of India is 3,287,263 Sq.Km.

South Africa being to the south of the Equator and India being in the North of it, climatic conditions in South Africa are just the reverse of what they are in India. That is, during the summer in India, South Africa will have winter. The average rainfall in South Africa does not exceed twenty inches. South Africa does not have big rivers. The few that are there are very small. The water of these rivers cannot reach many places. So wherever there is a deficiency of surface water, artesian wells are sunk and water needed for irrigating fields is pumped by windmills and steam-engines.

The climate in many parts of South Africa is said to be healthy and temperate. So Europeans could settle there comfortably. Among the Europeans, the Dutch (the people of Holland) and the English founded their colonies there.

Advent of Europeans in South Africa

About four hundred years ago, the Dutch were in search of good lands for their own expansion and they arrived at Cape Coast, a port of west Africa in the gulf of Guinea, situated 165 km. west of Accra in Ghana. They dislodged the Portuguese who were already settled there and occupied the whole area which was converted by them in 1637 to a castle. The British captured it in 1664.

The Dutch, being intolerant of the British control, gradually left the Cape colony and migrated to Transvaal situated in the North-east of the present South Africa, and founded a settlement there. They then came in contact with Negroes, a simple

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and unsophisticated race. These Negroes are regarded as the original inhabitants of South Africa. They were supposed to have been the descendants of some of the slaves in America who managed to escape from their bondage and migrate to Africa. They were divided into various tribes such as the Zulus, the Swaris, the Basutos, and the Bechuanas etc. They spoke different languages. They were physically very strong, both men and women were tall and broad-chested in proportion to their height. They were also well acquainted with the use of the spear, and bow and arrows. But they were so timid that even the sight of a European child was sufficient to frighten them.

In South Africa, the Dutch came to be known as Boers. The word 'Boer' means a farmer or agriculturalist. The Dutch were skilful cultivators. They noticed that the land around them was highly suited for agriculture, and also that the Negroes (natives) could be easily forced to labour for them. So they commenced agriculture with the labour of the 'natives' and soon became owners of extensive farms. Each farmer had thousands of acres of land in his possession. Maize and tobacco were two important crops that they produced from these farms.

Some Dutchmen from Java, with their Malay slaves entered South Africa through Cape of Good Hope, southern most point in the south-west of Africa in 1652. The land around the Cape, at that time, belonged to the Khoikhoi people. The Dutch colonial administrator established a re-supply camp for the 'Dutch East India Company' some 50 km. north to the Cape in Table Bay on 6th April 1652. This eventually developed into Cape Town. This colony gradually grew over the next 150 years or

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so and it stretched towards the North and North-east covering hundreds of sq.km.

The British invaded and occupied this Cape Colony in 1795 but relinquished control of the territory in 1803. After three years the British forces again occupied it on 19th January 1806. Under the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1814, the whole territory was ceded to the United Kingdom of Great Britain. Thereafter it was administered as Cape Colony of British.

The Dutch farmers who were settled in the Cape Colony then moved from that place seeking pasture for their flocks, arrived at the north side of the Orange River. Noticing that the extensive land available there would be suitable for their residence, they settled there in the year 1824.[1] This territory came to be known as Orange Free State. In due course they came into close contact with the Dutch (Boers) settled in the Transvaal.

After establishing themselves firmly in the Cape Colony, the English started moving towards Natal, which lies between the Indian Ocean and the Drakenberg Mountains on the South Eastern side of South Africa. This area extending over 35000 sq.miles was under the occupation of the Boers. The whole area was annexed by the British and on May 4, 1843, it was proclaimed a British Colony.

1. In 1854 it was proclaimed as an Independent state with its Capital at Bloemfontein.

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CHAPTER IV

ADVENT OF INDIANS IN NATAL, SOUTH AFRICA

Let us now see how the Indians entered South Africa. The English settlers in Natal could make no progress at all with their plantations in the absence of a stable labour force. They therefore opened negotiations with the Government of India and requested their help for the supply of labour. The Government of India complied with their request, and the first batch of indentured labourers from India reached Natal on November 16, 1860.

Gandhiji says: "In my opinion, the Government of India were not well-advised in taking the action they did. The British officials in India consciously or unconsciously were partial to their brethren in Natal. It is true that as many terms as possible, purporting to safeguard the labourer's interests, were entered in the indentures. Fairly good arrangements were made for their board. But adequate consideration was not given to the question as to how these illiterate labourers who had gone to a distant land were to seek redress if they had any grievances. No thought was given to their religious needs or to the preservation of their morality. The British officials in India did not consider that although slavery had been abolished

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by law, employers could not be free from a desire to make slaves of their employees. They did not realize, as they ought to have realized, that the labourers who had gone to Natal would in fact become temporary slaves. The late Sir W.W.Hunter, who had deeply studied their labour conditions, used a remarkable phrase about them. Writing about the Indian labourers in Natal, he said that theirs' was a state of semi slavery. On another occasion, in the course of a letter, he described their condition as bordering on slavery. And tendering evidence before a commission in Natal, the most prominent European in that Colony, the late Mr. Harry Escombe, admitted as much. Most of these were incorporated in the memorials on the subject submitted to the Government of India."

The news that indentured labourers from India had gone to Natal soon reached Mauritius, which is on the way to Natal from India. Thousands of Indians, labourers as well as traders were, at that time, settled in Mauritius. Many Indian traders there having good connection with the indentured labourers who had already gone to Natal, were induced to follow them there. One of them, Sheth Abubekar Amad soon opened a shop in Natal. An Englishman joined him as his business partner. The business flourished well. He purchased land in Natal and established himself firmly there. The story of his prosperity reached Porbandar, his native place and other places in Gujarat. Consequently some other Meman traders of Gujarat also reached Natal and established their business there. Bohras from Surat followed them. These traders needed accountants, and Hindu accountants from Gujarat and Sourashtra accompanied them.

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The English in Natal had been able to raise very profitable crops of sugarcane, tea and coffee with the assistance of indentured labour. They manufactured sufficient quantity of sugar, tea and coffee in a surprisingly short time and thereby made so much money that they built palatial mansions for themselves and turned a wilderness into a veritable garden.

The indentured labourers had gone to Natal only for a period of five years. They were under no obligation to labour after the expiry of that period, and were entitled to work as free labourers or trade in Natal, and settle there if they so wished. Some elected to settle there while others returned home. Those who remained in Natal came to be known as "Free Indians". But they were not admitted to all the rights enjoyed by the entirely Free Indians (i.e. Traders and their servants who had gone to Natal from Mauritius, Gujarat and Saurashtra).

The "Free Indians" were required to obtain a pass if they wanted to go from one place to another, and if they married and desired the marriage to be recognized as valid in law, they were required to register it with an official known as the Protector of Indian Immigrants. They were also subjected to other severe restrictions.

The children of the indentured labourers also, though not bound to labour, were affected by several stringent provisions of the colonial law. They could not escape the brand of slavery.

The Indian traders in Natal provided necessary assistance to indentured labourers and to the Free-Indians. The Indian traders in Natal felt that they could carry on their work not

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only with the assistance of the indentured labourers and "Free Indians" but with Negroes as well. The Negroes very much feared the European traders but not the Indian traders. On the contrary, they found the Indian traders sober-minded and beneficial to them. So a good rapport developed between them which proved very profitable to both.

Many indentured labourers, on the termination of their indenture elected to settle in Natal itself. They began to pursue some trade or other on a small scale. They had good knowledge of agriculture and vegetation. Many of them purchased small pieces of land and started growing vegetables in them. Various kinds of vegetables, which had not been grown before for want of a competent class cultivators, now became available. Other kinds, which had been grown in small quantities, could now be had in abundance. The result was a fall in the price of vegetables, which adversely affected the English planters.

The English planters of Natal wanted only slaves to work for them. They did not relish this new development. They felt that they now had competitors in a field in which they had a monopoly. A movement was, therefore, started by them against the poor indenture time-expired labourers in a variety of ways. This was the reward for their skill and hard work put in by them for the benefit of the English planters. This movement assumed many forms.

An agitation started slowly against the Indian traders also. The Indian traders were well established in Natal. They had acquired lands in good localities. As the number of free labourers began to increase, there was a larger and larger demand for the goods required by them. Bags of rice in

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thousands were imported from India and sold at a good profit by the Indian traders. Besides this, they had a fair share of trade with Zulus also. They thus became an eyesore to the English petty traders.

The Indian traders came to know, in due course, that according to law they were entitled to vote in the elections for the Legislative Assembly of Natal and to stand as candidates for the same. Some Indians therefore got their names entered on the electoral roll. This resulted in making the British politicians in Natal anti-Indian, and the first step taken by the responsible Government of Natal was to enact a law disfranchising all Asiatics except those who were then rightly contained in any voters' list. A bill to that effect was first introduced in the Legislative Assembly of Natal in 1894.

This came to the notice of Gandhiji when he was about to leave for India after the court case between Dada Abdulla and Tyeb Sheth ended with a happy settlement. Consequently as Gandhiji said: God laid the foundations of his life in South Africa and sowed the seed of the fight for national self-respect.

Condition of Indians in the Transvaal

Before proceeding further, we need to know the condition of Indians in the Transvaal and other European colonies in South Africa. The Transvaal was a Boer Republic. The Negroes had no power there. It was all a white man's (only Dutch) affair. The Indian traders noticed that the Boers were simple, frank and unassuming, and would not think it below their dignity to deal with Indian traders and they came to the conclusion that they could trade conveniently with the Boers.

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In the year 1881, Sheth Abubakar opened a shop in Pretoria and purchased land in one of its principal streets. Other traders followed in his wake. Their great success excited the jealousy of European traders who commenced an anti-Indian campaign in the newspapers, and submitted petitions to the *Volksraad* (parliament), praying that Indians should be expelled and their trade stopped. Their petitions contained the following statements: "These Indians have no sense of human decency. They suffer from loathsome diseases. They consider every woman as their prey. They believe that women have no souls." Needless to say that all these statements were totally untrue. As were the European traders, so were their representatives. The newspaper campaign and the petitions to the *Volksraad* had the desired effect and a bill was introduced in the *Volksraad*. The leading Indians were taken aback when they came to know about this. They went to see the President of the Republic. He did not admit them into his house but allowed them to stand in the courtyard. After hearing them for a while, he said: "You are the descendants of Ishmael and therefore from your very birth bound to slave for the descendants of Esau".

> Gandhiji says: "It cannot be said that this reply from the President was inspired by malice or anger. President Kruger had been taught from his childhood the stories of the Old Testament, and he believed them to be true. How can we blame a man who gives candid expression to his opinions such as they are? Ignorance, however, is bound to do harm even when associated with candour."

Whatever the facts may be, the bill was passed by the *Volksraad* and became Law 3 of 1885. In the terms of the law,

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every Indian settling in the Republic for the purpose of carrying on trade was required to register at a cost of twenty-five pounds subject to heavy penalties, and no Indian could hold an inch of land or enjoy the rights of citizenship.

The British Agent in Transvaal was obliged to move in the matter at the instance of the Indian leaders. The question was finally carried to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. There was a treaty subsisting between the Boers and the British Government known as the London Convention, Article XIV of which secured the rights of British subjects. The British Government objected to the Law 3 of 1885 as being in contravention of that Article. The Boers urged in reply that the British Government had previously given their consent, whether expressed or implied, to the law in question.

A dispute thus arose between the British and the Boer Governments, and the matter was referred to arbitration. The Law was then amended in 1886 in accordance with the arbitrator's award. The registration fee was reduced from twenty-five to three pounds.

The clause, which completely debarred Indians from holding landed property, was removed. It was provided instead, that the Indians could own fixed property in such locations, wards and streets as were specially set apart for their residence by the Transvaal Government. The Transvaal Government did not honestly carry out the terms of the amended clause, and withheld from Indians the right to purchase freehold land. Even in the locations in all towns inhabited by Indians, locations for allotment to Indians were selected in dirty places situated far away from the towns where there was no water supply, no

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lighting arrangements and no sanitary convenience to speak of.

The Transvaal Government also interpreted Law 3 of 1885 to mean that the Indians could trade only in the locations allocated for them. The Arbitrator had decided that the interpretation of the law rested with the ordinary tribunals of the Transvaal. The Indian traders were therefore in a very awkward condition. Still they managed to maintain their position well by carrying on negotiations, or by having recourse to law courts or by exerting whatever influence they possessed, according to the situation confronting them.

The position of Indians in the Orange Free State and Cape Colony

The position of the Indians in the Orange Free State was still worse. Hardly a dozen Indians had opened shops in the Free State when the Europeans started a powerful agitation against them. The *Volksraad* there then passed a stringent law which provided that no Indian could on any account hold fixed property or carry on mercantile or farming business or enjoy franchise rights in the Free State. Only with special permission, an Indian could settle there as a labourer or as a hotel waiter. But the authorities were not obliged to grant even this precious permission in every case. The result was that no respectable Indian could live in the Free State even for a couple of days without facing great difficulty. As soon as the said Act was passed, the Free State Government expelled all the Indian traders, who were already there, from the Free State awarding them nominal compensation.

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In the Cape Colony too, there was some newspaper agitation against Indians and the treatment to which they were subjected was not free from humiliating features. For example, Indian children could not attend public schools, and Indian travellers could hardly secure accommodation in hotels. But there was no restrictions as to trade and the purchase of land for a long time. There were reasons for this state of things. There was a fair proportion of the Malays in the population of the Cape Colony in general and of Cape Town in particular. The Malays were Musalmans and they soon came in contact with the Indian Musalmans and with other Indians later on. Some Indian Musalmans married Malay women. The Cape was their motherland. Dutch was their mother tongue. They had been living with the Dutch from the very beginning and therefore largely imitated them in their ways of life. The Cape Colony, therefore, had been the least affected by colour prejudice.

Gandhiji arrived at Natal in the last week of May 1893. The position of Indians in the four colonies of Europeans in South Africa, at that time, was as stated above. He had come to South Africa to attend to the case of Dada Abdulla Sheth residing at Natal. The case was going on in Transvaal. The defendant, Sheth Tyeb Haji Khan was a resident of Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal. Gandhiji succeeded in bringing about a compromise between them and the case ended happily. Abdulla Sheth had arranged a farewell party in honour of Gandhiji. When the news came to their notice that a Bill has been in the House of Legislature of Natal seeking to deprive the Indians of their right to elect members of the Natal Legislative Assembly, Gandhiji decided to cancel his passage and to fight for national self-respect.

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CHAPTER V

GANDHIJI ORGANIZES OPPOSITION TO FRANCHISE BILL

A meeting was soon held at the house of Abdulla Sheth under the President-ship of Sheth Haji Muhammad Haji Dada who was regarded as the foremost leader of Indian community in Natal, at that time, in public affairs. Natal-born Indians, that is, mostly Christian Indian youths had been invited to attend this meeting. Mr. Paul, the Durban Court Interpreter and Mr. Subhan Godfrey, headmaster of a mission school attended the meeting along with a good number of Christian youths.

The meeting after considering the whole question seriously resolved to offer opposition to the Franchise Bill. All the students who were present in the meeting enrolled themselves as volunteers. Many of the local merchants, employees of Dada Abdulla and Company and other big firms also got themselves enrolled. In the face of the calamity that had overtaken the community, all distinctions such as high and low, small and great, master and servant, Hindus, Musalmans, Parsis, Christians, Gujaratis, Madrasis, Sindhis, etc. were forgotten. All considered themselves the children and servants of the motherland.

A committee was appointed at once with Haji Adam as Chairman and a telegram was sent to the Speaker of the

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Assembly requesting him to postpone further discussion of the Bill. A similar telegram was sent to the Premier, Sir John Robinson, and another to Mr. Escombe as a friend of Dada Abdulla. The Speaker promptly replied that discussion of the Bill would be postponed for two days.

The same night Gandhiji drew up the petition to be presented to the Legislative Assembly. Three copies had to be prepared and one extra was needed for the press. It was also proposed to obtain as many signatures to it as possible, and all this work had to be done in the course of a night.

Mr. Arthur, an old man, who was known for his calligraphy, wrote the principal copy. The volunteers who knew English well and wrote a fine hand prepared four copies, writing simultaneously to someone's dictation. Merchant volunteers went out immediately in their own carriages, or carriages whose hire they had paid, to obtain signatures to the petition. Four hundred signatures were obtained overnight. Everything was accomplished in quick time and the petition was dispatched. The newspaper published it with favourable comments. It (the petition) likewise created an impression on the Assembly. It was discussed in the House. Partisans of the Bill offered a defence - a lame one - in reply to the arguments advanced in the petition. The Bill was, however passed.

This petition was the first ever sent by the Indians to a South African Legislature. It created an impression although it failed to defeat the Bill. This was the South African Indian's first experience of such an agitation, and a new thrill of enthusiasm passed through the community. Meetings were held everyday and more and more persons attended them. The

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conviction that the community was one and indivisible was getting stronger day by day. The general feeling in the community was that it was as much their duty to fight for its political rights as for its trading rights.

Encouraged by the spirit of the community, Gandhiji decided to submit a monster petition to Lord Ripon, who was at that time Secretary of State for the Colonies. This was no small task and could not be done in a day. He took considerable pains over drawing up this petition. He read all the literature available on the subject. His argument centred around a question of principle and a matter of expediency. He argued that the Indians settled down in South Africa had a right to the franchise there as they had a kind of franchise in India. He further argued that it was expedient to retain it in Natal.

It was decided to obtain ten thousand signatures to the petition. Many specially competent volunteers helped in preparing copies and in securing signatures. To secure signatures from the whole of the province was no light task. The villages were scattered over vast areas. It had been decided not to take a single signature without the signatory fully understanding the petition. The workers put their whole heart into the task and carried out the work promptly and meticulously with great enthusiasm. Sheth Dawud Muhammad, Rustomji, Adamji Miyakhan and others kept on going about in their carriages the whole day for securing signatures. Everyone did the work as a labour of love without asking for even his out-of-pocket expenses. Sheth Abdulla's house became a caravanserai[1] and

1. Inn with a large central courtyard where caravans stay for the night.

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a public office. Many had their food there. Working day and night, ten thousand signatures could be obtained within a month, and the petition with these signatures was forwarded to Lord Ripon, Secretary of State for Colonies.

A thousand copies of the petition had been printed for circulation and distribution. Gandhiji sent copies to all the news papers and publicists in India with a view to acquaint the Indian public with the conditions of Indians settled in Natal. *The Times of India*, in a leading article on the petition, strongly supported the Indian demands.

Copies were also sent by Gandhiji to journals and publicists in England representing different parties. *The London Times* supported the Indians' claims.

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CHAPTER VI

NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

Gandhiji felt that the dispatch of the petition to the Secretary of State for the Colonies was not sufficient in itself and that sustained agitation was essential for making an impression on the Secretary of State. For this purpose he thought that it was necessary to establish a permanent organization. He consulted Sheth Abdulla and other friends. All of them agreed with him and decided to have a public organization of a permanent character. Gandhiji recommended that the organization should be called the Natal Indian Congress. A general meeting was held for this purpose at the house of Dada Sheth Abdulla on the 22nd May 1894. The proposal received the enthusiastic approval of all present. And the Natal Indian Congress came into being on that day, viz., 22nd May 1894. Its constitution was simple. The Organization worked throughout the year. Those who paid an annual subscription of at least three pounds (five shillings monthly) were admitted to membership. Amounts exceeding that sum were gratefully received. About three hundred members were enrolled in a month. A considerable number of them subscribed one pound per month. Members included Hindus, Musalmans, Parsis and Christians. The meetings of the congress were held regularly at least once a month, when detailed accounts were presented and

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adopted. Current events were explained and recorded in a minute book. Members asked various questions. Fresh subjects were considered. The advantage of all this was that those who never spoke at such meetings got accustomed to do so. All this was a novel experience for the community.

It may be remembered that Gandhiji had agreed to stay on in South Africa only for a month. But things developed in such a manner that the Indian friends there surrounded him on all sides and importuned him to remain there permanently. Gandhiji made it clear to them that (1) he would not stay there at public expense, (2) it would be necessary for him to set up an independent household which would need not less than £ 300 a year, and that he could stay there only if the members of the Indian community guaranteed legal work to him to the extent of that minimum. About twenty merchants immediately agreed to have him as retainer for one year for their legal work. Besides this, Abdulla Sheth purchased for him the necessary furniture in lieu of a purse he had intended to give him on his departure. Gandhiji then decided to settle in Natal.

Soon, Gandhiji applied for admission as an advocate of the Supreme Court of Natal. The prevailing practice there at that time was that a leading barrister should present such applications without any fee. Mr. Escombe, a famous advocate, who was Attorney General and afterwards also Premier of Natal, functioned as Gandhiji's counsel and presented his application. The Natal Law Society opposed the application on the sole ground that when the regulations regarding admission of advocates were made, the possibility of a coloured man applying could not have been contemplated. The matter went up to the

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Supreme Court. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court ruled out the opposition of the Law Society without even calling upon Mr. Escombe to reply. The Chief Justice said: "The law makes no distinction between white and coloured people. The court has therefore no authority to prevent Mr. Gandhi from being enrolled as an advocate. We admit his application. Mr. Gandhi, you can now take the oath."

Gandhiji then stood up and took the oath before the Registrar. As soon as he was sworn in, the Chief justice, addressing him, said: "You must now take off your turban, Mr. Gandhi. You must submit to the rules of the Court with regard to the dress to be worn by practicing barristers."

In the District Magistrate Court Gandhiji had insisted on wearing the turban. Now he saw his limitations and he took off his turban in obedience to the order of the Supreme Court. Sheth Abdulla and other friends did not like this. They felt that Gandhiji should have stood by his right to wear the turban while practising in the court. Gandhiji tried to press home to them the truth of the maxim, 'When in Rome, do as the Romans do.'

Practice as an advocate was only a subordinate occupation for Gandhiji. He had decided to settle in Natal only for public work in the interest of the Indian community there. As Secretary of Natal Indian Congress, he concentrated his mind in organizing the activities of the Congress with a view to put it on a sound footing. His co-workers evinced extraordinary enthusiasm in canvassing members. It was a work which interested them and at the same time an invaluable experience. Large numbers of people gladly came forward with cash subscriptions. Work

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in the distant villages of the interior was rather difficult. People did not know the nature of public work. And yet they had invitations to visit far away places. Leading merchants of every place extended their hospitality.

People never cared to have receipts for the amounts they paid, but Gandhiji always insisted on the receipts being given. Every pie was thus accounted for and the accounts were maintained properly. Gandhiji said "Carefully kept accounts are a sine qua non for any organization. Without them it falls into disrepute. Without properly kept accounts it is impossible to maintain truth in its pristine purity." He also said: " Economy is essential for every organization, and yet I know that it is not always exercised."

An important thing done by Gandhiji at this time was the establishment of the Colonial-born Indian Educational Association under the auspices of Natal Indian Congress. The members of the Association consisted mostly of Colonial born educated Indian youths. They had to pay a nominal subscription. The Association served "to ventilate their needs and grievances, to stimulate thought amongst them, to bring them into touch with Indian merchants and also to afford them scope for service of the community." It was a sort of debating society. The members met regularly and spoke or read papers on different subjects. A small library was also opened under auspices of the Association.

Gandhiji also prepared after considerable labour and study, two pamphlets with a view to acquaint the English in South Africa and England, and the people in India with the real state of things in Natal. The first was *An Appeal to Every Briton in*

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South Africa. It contained a statement, supported by evidence, of the general condition of Natal-Indians. The other was entitled the *Indian Franchise - an Appeal.* It contained a brief history of the Indian franchise in Natal with facts and figures. These pamphlets were widely circulated in South Africa and in India which resulted in winning the Indians numerous friends in South Africa and in obtaining the active sympathy of all parties in India.

The 10th session of the Indian National Congress held in Madras in December 1894, under the president-ship of Alfred Webb, M.P. passed the following resolution on South Africa.

> "This Congress earnestly entreats Her Majesty's Government to grant the prayer of her Majesty's Indian subjects, resident in South African Colonies, by vetoing the bill of the Colonial Government disfranchising them."

The memorial bearing ten thousand signatures (which meant almost the total population of Free Indians in Natal at that time) submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Lord Ripon), and further steps taken by Gandhiji to impress upon him the seriousness of the whole matter, yielded the desired result. Lord Ripon disallowed the Disfranchising Bill and declared that the British Empire could not agree to the establishment of a colour bar in legislation. It was really a great victory for the Natal Indian Congress. This victory redoubled the zeal and self-confidence of the Indian community in Natal.

The intention of the planters and the Government of Natal in passing the disfranchising bill was to end the political power of Indians in Natal. No doubt it was indispensable for them.

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But more important for them was to stop the growing Indian trade and Free Indian immigration. The disfranchising bill was disallowed on the ground of colour bar. So they thought of another way to achieve their object. Two other Bills were passed by the Natal Legislature. One of these imposed severe restrictions on Indian trade and the other on Indian immigration in Natal. The substance of the first Act was no one could trade without a license issued by an official appointed in accordance with the provisions of this Act. In practice any European could get a licence while the Indian had to face endless difficulties in the matter. He had to engage a lawyer and incur other expenditure. Those who could not afford it had to go without a license. The chief provision of the other Act was that only such immigrants as were to pass the education test in a European language could enter the colony. This virtually closed the doors of Natal against crores of Indians.

It must be stated here that this Act provided further that an Indian resident in Natal for three years before the passing of this Act might obtain a certificate of domicile enabling him to leave the colony and return at any time with his wife and minor children without being required to pass the education test.

The indentured and Free Indians in Natal were subject to other disabilities both legal and extra-legal in addition to those described above. Indentured and ex-indentured labourers hailed mainly from Uttar Pradesh and Madras state. The Musalmans were mostly traders. The Hindus, mostly clerks, who chiefly represented the class of Free Indians belonged to Gujarat. There were a few Parsi traders and clerks but the total population of Parsis did not exceed forty. Among the Free

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Indians were Sindhis also numbering about two hundred or so. Sindhis were dealing in "fancy goods" namely silks and brocades, carved boxes and furniture made of ebony, sandal-wood, ivory etc. The Europeans were mainly their customers.

Indentured labourers were called 'coolies' by the Europeans. The expression was used so extensively that the indentured labourers began to describe themselves as 'coolies'. As the majority of Indians belonged to the labouring class, all Indians came to be known as 'coolies' or 'samis'. 'Sami' is a Tamil suffix occurring after many Tamil names and it is nothing else than the Sanskrit 'Swami' meaning a master. Therefore, whenever, an Indian resented being addressed as a sami and had enough courage and wit in him, he would say "you may call me sami, but you forget that sami means a master". Some Englishmen would wince at this, while others would get angry, swear at the Indian and, if there was a chance, would even belabour him; for 'sami' to him was nothing better than a term of contempt. To interpret it to mean a master amounted to an insult to him.

Generally the Europeans called Indian lawyers as 'coolie' lawyers, Indian traders as 'coolie' traders and so on. Gandhiji was known as a 'coolie barrister'. The real meaning of the word 'coolie' was forgotten, and it became a common appellation for all Indians. The Musalman merchants resented this and would say "I am not a coolie, I am an Arab" or "I am a merchant", and the Englishman, if courteous would apologize to him.

The Europeans throughout South Africa had been agitating against Indians on the ground of their ways of life. They always

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argued that the Indians were very dirty and miserly. They lived in the same place where they traded. Their houses were mere shanties. They would not spend money even on their own comforts. How could the clean and open-handed Europeans with their multifarious wants compete in trade and freely mix with such dirty people?

Gandhiji left no stone unturned to change this situation. He formed the Natal Indian Educational Association under the auspices of the Natal Indian Congress with a view to provide necessary political education and practical training to the Indians, specially the youth, to deal with the situation created by the Europeans from time to time. Lectures were delivered, debates held, and suggestions made at the Congress meetings also on subjects such as domestic problems, personal hygiene, and the necessity of having separate buildings for houses and shops and for well-to-do traders of living in a style befitting their position. The proceedings were conducted in Gujarati.

Attempts were regularly made to draw the attention of the Indians to their shortcomings. Whatever force there was in the arguments of the Europeans was duly acknowledged. Every occasion, when it was possible to co-operate with the Europeans on terms of equality consistent with self respect, was heartily availed of. The newspapers were supplied with as much information about the Indians as they could publish, and whenever the Indians were unfairly attacked in the press, replies were sent to the newspapers concerned.

The Natal Indian Congress, under the leadership of Gandhiji, completed its first year of existence on 22nd May 1895 with remarkable success. The next year witnessed more

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achievements and consolidation of all the programmes of the Congress. Early in the year 1896, Gandhiji felt that his stay in Natal would have to be prolonged. So he decided to bring over his family from India to Natal. The Congress allowed him leave of absence for six months and Adamji Miyakhan, a well-known merchant of Natal who commanded the respect of the Indian community was appointed Secretary in place of Gandhiji, and about the middle of 1896 he sailed for home in the *S.S. Pongola* which was bound for Calcutta. At the end of twenty-four days the pleasant voyage came to a close and Gandhiji landed at Calcutta. The same day he took the train for Bombay. Without halting at Bombay he proceeded straight to Rajkot.

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CHAPTER VII

IN INDIA

Before leaving for India, Gandhiji had decided to utilise his brief sojourn in India for acquainting Indian leaders with the condition of Indian Settlers in Natal and other parts of South Africa. So immediately after reaching Rajkot, he began to make preparations for writing a pamphlet. He took only about a month for writing and publication of this pamphlet. Ten thousand copies were printed and sent to all the papers and leaders of every party in India. During this period, he also visited Bombay and met Justice Mahadeva Govind Ranade, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Justice Badruddin Tyabji, Mr.D.E.Wacha and Mr. Cama. Mr.Wacha was regarded as the right-hand man of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta.

After carefully listening to Gandhiji, Sir Pherozeshah said: "Gandhi, I see that I must help you. I must call a public meeting here." With this he turned to Mr. Munshi, his secretary, and told him to fix up the date of the meeting. The date was settled and the meeting was fixed to be held in the hall of Sir Cowasji Jehangir Institute.

In accordance with Sir Pherozeshah's instructions, Gandhiji reported at his office at 5 P.M. on the eve of the meeting. "Is

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your speech ready, Gandhi ?" asked Sir Pherozeshah . "No Sir, I think of speaking *extempore*" said Gandhiji.

"That will not do in Bombay. Reporting here is bad, and if we would benefit by this meeting, you should write out your speech and it should be printed before daybreak tomorrow. I hope you can manage this."

Gandhiji : "I would try Sir."

Sir Pherozeshah : "Then, tell me, what time should Mr. Munshi come to you for the manuscript ?"

Gandhiji : "Eleven o'clock tonight."

The writing and printing of the speech was completed within the time fixed and the meeting was held as scheduled. The hall of the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Institute was fully packed, leaving not an inch of room. Gandhiji felt that his voice could reach only a few. So Mr. Wacha came to his rescue and read out the speech with wonderful results. The audience listened to the speech till the end, quietly punctuating it with applause and cries of "shame" where necessary. This gladdened Gandhiji's heart. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta liked the speech. So were others.

From Bombay Gandhiji went to Poona and met Lokamanya Balagangadhar Tilak, Gopalkrishna Gokhale and Prof. Bhandarkar. Everyone heard attentively the story of the Indian wrongs in Natal and assured fullest help to Gandhiji in the matter. A successful meeting was also held in Poona. The leaders of both the parties that existed in Poona at that time, one

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Sarvajanik Sabha and the other Deccan Sabha, attended the meeting and spoke in support of Gandhiji's cause.

Gandhiji then went to Madras. There he saw Justice Sir S. Subrahmanya Aiyar, Shri P. Ananthacharlu, Shri G. Subrahmanyam, editor of the 'Hindu', Shri Parameshwaran Pillai, editor of the Madras Standard, Shri Bhashyam Iyengar, the famous advocate, Mr. Norton and other leading gentlemen of Madras. A grand meeting was held in the Pachaiappa Hall in Madras which was addressed by Gandhiji.

Gandhiji says: "The affection showered on me by most of the friends I met in Madras, and their enthusiasm for the cause were so great that, in spite of my having to communicate with them in English, I felt myself entirely at home. What barrier is there that love cannot break?"

From Madras Gandhiji proceeded to Calcutta. There he met Surendra Nath Banerji, Maharaja Jyotindra Mohan Tagore, Mr. Saunders, the editor of the *Englishman* and the editors of the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* and the *Bangabasi*. While he was thinking of holding a public meeting in Calcutta, he received a cablegram from Natal (Durban) : "Parliament opens January, return soon." This was in November 1896. He concluded that some movement hostile to the Indians must be afoot. He therefore addressed a letter to the Press in which he explained as to why he had to leave Calcutta so abruptly, and set off for Bombay.

Before starting he wired to the Bombay agent of Dada Abdullah & Co. to arrange for his passage by the first possible boat to South Africa. Dada Abdulla had just then purchased steamship *Courland* and he insisted that Gandhiji should travel

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on that boat, offering to take him and his family free of charge. Gandhiji gratefully accepted the offer, and in the beginning of December 1896, he set sail a second time for South Africa, now with his wife and two sons and the only son of his widowed sister.

Another steamship *Naderi* also sailed for Durban at the same time. *S.S.Naderi* belonged to Persian Steam Navigation Company running between Porbandar and Natal. Dada Abdullah & Co., were the agents of that company. Both the steamers left Bombay for Durban one after the other on the 1st of December 1896. The total number of passengers on the two steamers was about 800, half of whom were bound for the Transvaal.

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CHAPTER VIII

TRIBULATIONS

Since the *S.S.Courland* was making its voyage straight for Natal, without calling at Intermediate ports, the total period of this voyage was only eighteen days. The voyage was quite pleasant for the first fourteen days, with the passengers eating and drinking, singing and merry-making. But on the fifteenth day, a terrible gale overtook the *Courland.* In the Southern hemisphere, December is a summer month during the monsoon season. Gales, great and small, are quite common in the Southern sea in that season. The gale in which the passengers of *Courland* were caught was so violent and prolonged that the passengers became alarmed. It was a solemn scene. All became one in the face of the common danger. They forgot their differ-ences and began to think of the one and only God. Musalmans, Hindus and Christians, all joined in praying to the Almighty for their safety. The captain also joined them in that prayer. He also assured them that though the storm was not without danger, he had had experience of many worse ones, and explained to them that a well-built ship like *Courland* could stand almost any weather. But the passengers were inconsolable. Every minute they were hearing sounds and crashes which foreboded breaches and leaks. The ship rocked and rolled to such an extent that it seemed as though she would capsize at any moment. It was out of question for anyone to

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remain on the deck. Only God's name was on every lip. This state of plight continued for about twenty-four hours. At last, the sky cleared. The Sun made its appearance and the captain announced that the storm had blown over. People's faces beamed with happiness. The fear of death was gone. All the passengers offered their prayers but the solemnity of that dread hour was not there.

Gandhiji had experience of similar gales and he could move fearlessly amongst the passengers, bringing them comfort and conveying to them hourly reports of the captain. The friendship that he formed with the passengers stood him in very good stead.

The ship *Courland* cast anchor in the port of Durban on the 18th or 19th of December 1896. The other ship also reached Durban the same day.

According to the rules, passengers were not allowed to land at any of the South African ports before being subjected to a thorough medical examination. If the ship had any passenger suffering from a contagious disease, she had to undergo a period of quarantine. As there had been plague in Bombay, when *Courland* set sail, Gandhiji feared that the passengers in that ship might have to undergo a brief quarantine. As a rule every ship had to fly a yellow flag before the medical examination. The flag could be lowered only when the doctor certified every passenger of the ship as healthy. Relatives and friends of the passengers were allowed to come on board only after the yellow flag had been lowered.

Accordingly *S.S.Courland* was flying the yellow flag when the doctor came and examined every passenger of the ship.

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He ordered a five day's quarantine because, in his opinion, plague germs took twenty-three days at the most to develop. *S.S.Courland* had, therefore, to be put in quarantine until the twenty-third day of the sailing of the ship from Bombay. But the quarantine order had more than health reasons behind it.

Gandhiji writes: "while in India I had criticized the Europeans of Natal, I had spoken very strongly against the £ 3 tax on indentured labourers. I had given a vivid account of the sufferings of an indentured labourer named Subrahmaniam, who had been assaulted by his master, whose wounds I had seen and whose case was in my hands. When the Europeans in Natal read the distorted summary of my speeches, they were greatly exasperated against me. The remarkable fact, however, was that what I had written in Natal was more severe and detailed than what I wrote and spoke in India. My speeches in India were free from the slightest exaggeration. On the other hand, as I knew from experience, that if we describe an event to a stranger, he sees more in it than what we intend to convey. I had deliberately described the South African situation in India less forcibly than the facts warranted. But very few Europeans would read what I wrote in Natal, and still fewer would care for it."

"Reuter's representative in England had sent a brief cablegram to South Africa containing an exaggerated summary of my speeches in India. This is not an unusual experience. Such exaggeration is not always intentional. Very busy people with prejudices and prepossessions of their own read something superficially and then prepare a summary which is sometimes partly a product of imagination."

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"Moreover, a subject which is considered worthy of being communicated by cablegram becomes invested with an importance it does not intrinsically possess. So when the Europeans of Natal read Reuter's summaries they thought that my work in India carried the weight attributed to it by them and that therefore the system of indentured labour would perhaps come to an end, and hundreds of European planters would suffer in consequence. Besides, they felt blackened before India."

"While the Europeans of Natal were thus in an excited state of mind, they heard that I was returning to Natal with my family per *S.S.Courland*, that it carried 300 to 400 Indian passengers, and that *S.S.Naderi* was also arriving at the same time with an equal number of Indians. This news inflamed them all the more, and there was a great explosion of feeling. They held large meetings, which were attended by almost all the prominent members of their community. The Indian passengers in general and myself in particular came in for a great deal of severe criticism. The expected arrival of the *Courland* and the *Naderi* was represented as an "invasion" of Natal. The speakers said that I had brought those 800 passengers to Natal and this was my first step towards flooding Natal with free Indians. A resolution was passed unanimously in a meeting that the passengers of both the steamers including myself should be prevented from landing in Natal. If the Government of Natal would not or could not prevent the passengers from landing, the Committee appointed at the meeting would take the law into their own hands to prevent the Indians from landing."

On the one hand the whites were holding monster meetings everyday to put pressure on the Government of Natal

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for repatriating the two steamers. On the other they were addressing all kinds of threats to Dada Abdullah & Co. and at times offering even inducements to him. They were ready to indemnify the Company if both the ships were sent back to India. But Dada Abdullah & Co. were not the people to be afraid of threats. Sheth Abdul Karim Haji Adam was then the managing partner of the firm. He was determined to moor the ships at the wharf and disembark the passengers at any cost. He was daily sending detailed letters to Gandhiji informing him about the daily happenings in the town. The advocate of the firm Mr. F.A.Laughton who was a fearless man condemned the conduct of the white residents of Durban and advised them, not merely as a paid advocate of the firm, but also as their true friend.

Thus Durban had become the scene of an unequal duel. On one side there was a handful of poor Indians and a few of their English friends, and on the other were ranged the white men, strong in arms, in numbers, in education and in wealth. They also had the backing of the State, for the Natal Government openly helped them. The real object of the quarantine was thus to coerce the passengers into returning to India by somehow intimidating them or the ship company.

When they failed in all their attempts to frighten Dada Abdullah & Co. they started addressing threats to the passengers also: "If you do not go back, you will surely be pushed into the sea, but if you consent to return, you may even get your passage money back." Gandhiji was constantly moving amongst the passengers of *Courland* asking them to ignore all these threats and cheering them up. He also sent messages

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of comfort to the passengers of the *S.S. Naderi*. All the passengers of the both the ships kept calm and courage.

The captain of the *S.S.Courland* asked Gandhiji:

"Supposing the whites carry out their threats, how will you stand by principle of non-violence?"

Gandhiji replied: "I hope God will give me the courage and the sense to forgive them and to refrain from bringing them to law. I have no anger against them. I am only sorry for their ignorance and their narrowness. I know that they sincerely believe that what they are doing to-day is right and proper. I have no reason therefore to be angry with them."

"The captain smiled possibly distrustfully" says Gandhiji.

Gandhiji arranged all sorts of games on the ship for the entertainment of the passengers. He himself took part in the merriment for the sake of the passengers, but his heart was in the combat that was going on in Durban. Although he was absolutely innocent, the white residents of Durban made him the real target.

Days passed on like this. No one knew as to when the quarantine would come to an end. In fact there was no one in the two steamers with a contagious disease. The restriction could be imposed only under the orders of the Health Officer of the port. But the matter had passed out of his hands. He simply said that as soon as he had orders from the Government, he would permit the passengers to land. In this uncertain situation, ultimatums were served on the passengers and Gandhiji, asking them to submit if they wanted to escape alive. In reply, every passenger and Gandhiji maintained his right to

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land at Port Natal and intimated his determination to enter Natal at any risk.

The Government of Natal was in a difficult situation. How long could an unjust restriction be enforced? Dada Abdullah did not flinch, nor did the passengers. So at the end of twenty-three days the ships were permitted to enter the harbour (on January 13, 1897) and orders were issued permitting the passengers to land.

Mr. Escombe who was the most influential member of the cabinet, pacified the excited Committee of Europeans. At a meeting which was held soon, he said: "The Europeans in Durban have displayed commendable unity and courage. You have done all you could. Government has also helped you. The Indians were detained for 23 days. You have given sufficient expression to your sentiments and your public spirit. That will make a profound impression on the Imperial Government. Your action has made the path of the Government of Natal easy. If you now prevent by force a single Indian passenger from landing, you will injure your interests and place the Government in an awkward position. And even then you will not succeed in preventing the Indians from landing. When they embarked at Bombay, they had no idea of your feelings. I would therefore advise you to disperse and not to obstruct these people. I assure you, however, that the Government of Natal will obtain from the legislative council the requisite powers in order to restrict future immigration." The audience was disappointed to hear Mr. Escombe, but he had great influence over the Europeans of Natal. So all the Europeans who had collected there accepted his advice and dispersed. Both the steamers were

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then brought into the dock and the passengers began to go ashore.

A message from Mr. Escombe had reached Gandhiji through the captain of the ship advising him not to land with the others but to wait till evening when the Superintendent of Water Police would come to escort him home. Gandhiji took the advise as a warning of the danger that was hanging over his head and came to the conclusion that he should accept the suggestion. He sent his family to the residence of his old friend and client, Parsi Rustomji instead of his own place. When the passengers had disembarked, Mr. Laughton, counsel for Dada Abdulla and a personal friend of Gandhiji came up and met him. He asked Gandhiji as to why he had not yet landed. Gandhiji told him about the message received by him from Mr. Escombe. Mr. Laughton did not like the idea of Gandhi's waiting till dusk and then entering the city like a thief or offender.

Mr. Laughton was an old and well-known advocate of Durban. Gandhiji had come in intimate contact with him before he returned to India. He used to consult Mr. Laughton in difficult cases and often to engage him as his senior. Mr. Laughton was a brave and powerfully built man. He clearly told Gandhiji: "I am positively of the opinion that if you comply with the suggestion of Mr. Escombe, you will stand humiliated. I would, therefore, advise you, if you are ready, to accompany me just now. The captain is our man, and his responsibility is our responsibility. He is accountable only to Dada Abdullah. I know what they will think of the matter, as they have displayed great courage in the present struggle. Gandhiji replied "Let us then go. I have no preparations to make. All I have to do is

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to put on my turban. Let us inform the captain and start." They took the captain's leave and went ashore.

It was about half past four in the evening when they started. The sky was slightly overcast and the sun was not to be seen. Mr. Rustom's house was about two miles away from the dock. Their road lay through the principal street of Durban. As soon as Mr. Laughton and Gandhiji came to the road, some youngsters recognized Gandhiji and shouted 'Gandhi, Gandhi'. About half a dozen men rushed to the spot and joined in the shouting. Mr.Laughton feared that the crowd might swell and hailed a rickshaw. But the youngsters did not allow Gandhiji to get into it. They frightened the rickshaw boy and he took to his heels. As Gandhiji and Mr. Laughton went ahead, the crowd continued to swell, until it became impossible for them to proceed further. They first caught hold of Mr. Laughton and separated Gandhiji from him. Then they pelted Gandhiji with stones, brickbats and rotten eggs. Someone snatched away his turban, whilst others began to batter and kick him. He fainted and caught hold of the front railings of a house and stood there to get his breath, but they came upon him boxing and battering. Just at that time, the wife of Mr. Alexander, popular Superintendent of Police at Durban was coming from the opposite direction. She knew Gandhiji very well. The brave lady came up, opened her umbrella for Gandhiji's protection and stood between him and the crowd. This checked the fury of the mob, as it was difficult for them to deliver blows on Gandhiji without harming Mrs. Alexander. The Europeans would not insult a lady, nor would they hurt her. Meanwhile, Mr. Alexander, Superintendent of Police came to know, through an Indian youth, who had run to the Police Station, about the

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attack on Gandhiji. He immediately sent a party of constables for Gandhiji's protection. They formed a ring around Gandhiji and escorted him safely to his destination—Rustomji's house.

The Police Station was on their way. When they reached there, Gandhiji saw that the Superintendent of Police, Mr. Alexander, was waiting for him. He offered him asylum in the Police Station, but Gandhiji gratefully declined the offer and said: "I must reach my destination soon. I have faith in the fair play of the citizens of Durban and in the righteousness of my own cause. I am thankful to you for sending the police party for my protection. Mrs. Alexander too has contributed to my safety."

It was nearly evening when Gandhiji reached Mr. Rustom's house. Dr. Dadibarjor, the medical officer of the ship *Courland*, who was already there, began to treat Gandhiji. He examined his wounds. There were bruises all over Gandhiji's body, but no abrasions except in one place. One blind wound in particular was causing severe pain to him. Dr. Dadibarjor rendered the best possible treatment to give him quick relief and asked him to take complete rest.

In the meantime, when there was quiet inside, the whites had gathered in front of Rustom Sheth's house in a large number. After nightfall, hooligans also joined the crowd shouting "We must have Gandhi." The crowd sent word to Rustom Sheth that if he did not hand over Gandhi to them, they would burn him and his house along with Gandhi.

When Police Superintendent Alexander came to know how matters stood, he arrived there with a number of detectives and after posting them at proper places, he quietly joined the

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crowd. He had already instructed a subordinate to disguise himself as an Indian trader by putting on Indian dress and painting his face to look as an Indian, and to go inside the house and deliver the following message to Gandhiji: "If you wish to save your friend, his guests and property, and your own family, I advise you to disguise as an Indian constable, come out through Rustomji's go-down, steal through the crowd with my man and reach the Police Station. A carriage is awaiting you at the corner of the street. This is the only way in which I can save you and others. The crowd is so excited that I am not in a position to control it. If you are not prompt in following my directions, I am afraid the crowd will raze Rustomji's house to the ground and it is impossible for me to imagine how many lives will be lost and how much property destroyed."

As soon as Gandhiji got the message of Superintendent Alexander, he quickly disguised himself as an Indian constable and left Rustomji's house. Two detectives accompanied him, one of them disguised as an Indian merchant. They reached a neighbouring shop by a by-lane and, making their way through the gunny bags piled in the godown, escaped by the gate of the shop and threaded their way through the crowd to a carriage that had been kept for them at the end of the street. In this carriage they drove off to the same Police Station where Mr. Alexander had offered refuge to Gandhiji a short time before.

During this period, Superintendent Alexander, under the pretext of talking to the crowd, took possession of the entrance to Rustomji's house, so that none could break and enter it. Then he sent for a bench and standing upon it started humou-

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ring the crowd by singing topical songs. He kept the crowd fully engaged by his humorous music till he got the information of Gandhiji's safe arrival at the Police Station. He then became serious and asked the crowd:

"What do you want?"

"We want Gandhi."

"What will you do with him?"

"We will burn him."

"What harm has he done to you?"

"He has vilified us in India and wants to flood Natal with Indians."

"What if he does not come out?"

"We will then burn this house."

"His wife and children are also there. There are other men and women besides. Would you not be ashamed of burning women and children?"

"The responsibility for that will rest with you. What can we do when you make us helpless in that matter? We do not wish to hurt any one else. It would be enough if you hand over Gandhi to us. If you do not surrender the culprit, and if others are injured in our endeavour to capture him, would it be fair on your part to blame us?"

The Superintendent of Police then gently smiled and informed the crowd that Mr. Gandhi had left Rustomji's house,

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passed through their midst, and reached another place already. The crowd laughed loudly and shouted, "It is a lie, it is a lie."

The Superintendent said: "If you will not believe your old Superintendent of Police, please form a committee of three or four men amongst you. Let others promise that they will not enter the house, and that if the committee failed to find Gandhi in the house, you will peacefully return to your houses. You got excited to-day and did not obey the police. That reflects discredit on you, not on the police. The police therefore played a trick with you; it removed your prey from your midst and you have lost the game. You certainly cannot blame the police for this. The police, whom you yourselves have appointed, have simply done their duty."

The Superintendent addressed the crowd with such suavity and determination, that they gave him the promise he had asked for. A Committee was appointed. It searched Rustomji's house through and through, and reported to the crowd that the Superintendent was right and had beaten them in the game. The crowd was disappointed. But they kept their word and dispersed without committing any mischief. This happened on January 13, 1897.

The same morning after the quarantine on the steamers had been removed the reporter of a Durban newspaper *The Natal Advertiser* had met Gandhiji on the steamer and had asked him everything relating to the matter. Gandhiji explained to him in detail and convinced him that he had not indulged in the least exaggeration. It was quite easy for Gandhiji to dispose of the charges against him to the full satisfaction of the reporter. The whole thing appeared in the newspapers the next day.

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Sensible people among the Europeans admitted their mistake. The newspapers expressed their sympathy with the standpoint of the Europeans in Natal, but at the same time they fully defended Gandhiji's action. This enhanced his reputation as well as the prestige of the Indian community in Natal. It was proved that the Indians, poor as they were, were no cowards, and that the Indian traders were prepared to fight for their self-respect and for their country regardless of loss.

Gandhiji says: "Though the Indian community had to suffer hardship and though Dada Abdulla incurred big losses, the ultimate result, I believe, was entirely beneficial. The community had an opportunity of measuring their own strength and their self-confidence increased in consequence. I had a most valuable experience, and whenever I think of that day, I feel that God was preparing me for the practice of Satyagraha."

The events in Natal had their repercussion in England. Mr. Chamberlain Secretary of State for the Colonies, cabled to the Government of Natal asking them to prosecute the assailants of Gandhiji and to see that justice was done to him.

Mr. Escombe, who was the Attorney-General of the Government of Natal, sent for Gandhiji, who had not left the Police Station till then. The Police Superintendent did not allow Gandhiji to go alone. As a precaution he sent two constables for his protection. Mr. Escombe told Gandhiji about Chamberlain's cable. He also expressed his regret for the injuries sustained by Gandhiji. He added: "I assure you that I did not at all intend that you or any other member of your community should be injured. As I feared that you might possibly be hurt, I sent you word to say that you should land at night. You did not like

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my suggestion. I do not wish to blame you in the least that you accepted Mr. Laughton's advice. You were perfectly entitled to do what you thought fit. The Government of Natal fully accepts Mr. Chamberlain's demand. We desire that the offenders should be brought to book. Can you identify any of your assailants."

Gandhiji replied: "I might perhaps be able to identify one or two of them. But I must say at once before this conversation proceeds that I have already made up my mind not to prosecute my assailants. I cannot see that they are at fault. What information they had, they had obtained from their leaders. It is too much to expect them to judge whether it was correct or otherwise. If all that they had heard about me was true, it was natural for them to be excited and to do something wrong in a fit of indignation. I would not blame them for it. Excited crowds have always tried to deal out justice in that manner. If any one is to blame it is the Committee of Europeans, you yourself and therefore, the Government of Natal. Reuter might have cabled any distorted account. But when you knew that I was coming to Natal, it was your duty and the duty of the Committee to question me about the suspicions you entertained with regard to my activities in India, to hear what I had to say and then do what might appear proper in the circumstances. Now I cannot prosecute you or the Committee for the assault. And even if I could, I would not seek redress in a court of law. You took such steps as seemed advisable to you for safeguarding the interests of the Europeans of Natal. It is a political matter, and it remains for me to fight with you in the political field and to convince you and the other Europeans that the Indians who constitute a large proportion of the population of

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the British Empire wish to preserve their self-respect and safeguard their rights without injuring the Euro-peans in the least."

Mr. Escombe said: "I quite understand what you say, and I appreciate it. I was not prepared to hear that you were not willing to prosecute your assailants. I would not have been displeased in the least had you prosecuted them. But since you have signified your determination not to prosecute, I do not hesitate to say that you have come to a right decision in the matter, but you will render further service to your community by your self-restraint. I must at the same time admit that your refusal to prosecute your assailants will save the Government of Natal from a most awkward position. If you so desire, the Government will see that your assailants are arrested, but it is scarcely necessary to tell you that it would irritate the Europeans and give rise to all manner of criticism, which no Government would relish. But if you have finally made up your mind not to prosecute, you should write to me a note signifying your intention to that effect. I cannot defend my Government by merely sending Mr. Chamberlain a summary of our conversation. I should cable to him a summary of your note. I am not, however, asking you to let me have the note just now. You had better consult your friends. Consult Mr. Laughton also. And if after such consultations you will adhere to your resolution not to prosecute, write to me. But your note should clearly state that you, on your own responsibility, refuse to prosecute your assailants. Then only can I make use of it."

Gandhiji said: "I had no idea that you had sent for me in this connection. I have not consulted anyone on the subject, nor do I wish to consult anyone now. When I decided to land

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and proceed with Mr Laughton, I had made up my mind that I should not feel aggrieved in case I was injured. Prosecuting my assailants is therefore out of question. This is a religious question with me, and I believe with you that I shall serve my community as well as myself by this act of self-restraint. I propose, therefore, to take all the responsibility on my shoulders and to give you the note you ask for here and now."

Gandhiji then obtained some blank paper from Mr. Escombe, wrote out the desired note and handed it over to him. Then he returned to the Police Station with his escort.

The interview given by Gandhiji to the representative of *The Natal Advertiser* and his refusal to prosecute his assailants produced such a profound impression that the Europeans of Durban felt ashamed of their conduct. The press declared Gandhiji to be innocent and condemned the mob.

Gandhiji says: "Thus the lynching ultimately proved to be a blessing for me, that is, for the cause. It enhanced the prestige of the Indian community in South Africa and made my work easier. In three or four days I went to my house, and it was not long before I settled down again. The incident added also to my professional practice."

Soon after settling down, Gandhiji resumed his duties as Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress. During his absence for about seven months, Sheth Adamji Miyakhan had discharged his duty with great credit. He had increased the membership and added about £ 1000 to the coffers of the Natal Indian Congress. Gandhiji says : "Adamji Miyakhan had a fair knowledge of English, which had been greatly supplemented by use. He had studied Gujarati in the ordinary course. As he had mercantile

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dealings chiefly with the Zulus, he had acquired an intimate knowledge of the Zulu language and was well conversant with Zulu manners and customs. He was a man of very quiet and amiable disposition. He was not given to much speech. I have entered into these details in order to show that to the holding of responsible positions, truthfulness, patience, tolerance, firmness, presence of mind, courage and commonsense are far more essential qualifications than a knowledge of English or mere learning. Where these fine qualities are absent the best literary attainments are of little use in public work."

The Indian community in Natal was now in a very strong position. Every member of the community was aware of his rights and the community as a whole stood united. Gandhiji tried to ameliorate their condition and enhanced their prestige. As a first step he decided to strengthen further the Natal Indian Congress. He issued an appeal for membership and funds. Soon it amounted to £ 5000. His desire was to secure for the Congress a permanent fund, so that it might procure property of its own and then carry on its work out of the rent of the property. This was the first experience of managing a public institution. He placed his proposal before his co-workers, and they welcomed it. The property that was purchased was leased out, and the rent was enough to meet the current expenses of the Congress. The property was vested in a strong body of trustees.

Gandhiji says, "But it has become the source of much internecine quarrelling with the result that the rent of the property now accumulates in the court. This sad situation developed after my departure from South Africa, but my idea of having

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permanent funds for public institutions underwent a change long before this difference arose. And now after considerable experience with many public institutions which I have managed, it has become my firm conviction that it is not good to run public institutions on permanent funds. A permanent fund carries in itself the seed of the moral fall of the institution. A public institution means an institution conducted with the approval, and from the funds, of the public. When such an institution ceases to have public support, it forfeits its right to exist. Institutions maintained on permanent funds are often found to ignore public opinion, and are frequently responsible for acts contrary to it.[1]

1. M.K. Gandhi: The story of my Experiments with Truth, Part III, Chapter IV

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CHAPTER IX

CONSOLIDATION OF NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

Side by side with the effort to develop the strength of the Natal Indian Congress, Gandhiji tried to seek such assistance as he could from India and England. He felt that it was essential, in the first place, to establish relations with the British Committee of the Natal Indian Congress. He, therefore, started writing weekly letters with full particulars to Dadabhai Naoroji,[1] the Grand Old Man of India, and to Sir William

1. "The first name in the list of Patriarchs of the Indian National Congress is that of Dadabhai Naoroji. Beginning his connection with the Congress from its very outset, he continued to serve it till the evening of his life, and took it through the whole gamut of evolution, from the humble position of being a people's organ seeking redress of administrative grievances, to that of a National Assembly working for the definite object of attaining Swaraj. He presided over the Congress thrice, in 1886 (Calcutta), 1893 (Lahore) and 1906 (Calcutta), and throughout his association with it, he held aloft the Congress banner before India and England. Dadabhai's second selection to the Presidentship of the Congress was in appreciation of his election to the House of Commons as a member for Central Finsbury. At that time the idea of ventilating India's grievances in London was being seriously discussed ..... It was at this Juncture that Dadabhai was elected Congress President for the second time (1893), and he took the opportunity to exhort the British "not to drive this force (the educated Indians) into opposition instead of drawing it to your own side."

Contd in p. 242

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Wedderburn,[2] the Chairman of the British committee. Whenever there was an occasion to send copies of representations, a sum of at least 10 pounds was also remitted as a contribution towards postal charges and the general expenditure.

Gandhiji says:

"Although we had called our organization the "Congress" we never intended to make our grievances a party question. We therefore corresponded with gentlemen belonging to other parties as well, with the full knowledge

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"This Congress," said he, "represents the aristocracy of Intellect." Dadabhai hoped that "our faith in the instinctive love of justice and fair play of the United Kingdom is not misplaced." "The day, I hope" he said, "is not distant when the world will see the noblest spectacle of a great Nation like the British holding out the hand of true fellow- citizenship and of justice." To the last day, Dadabhai's faith in the British remained unimpaired.

B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya : History of the Indian National Congress, Part I, Chapter VI, Page 83.

2. "The services of Sir William Wedderburn are too well known to need recounting. He was the chief character for years together in running the British Congress Committee, for the expenses of which the Congress had been voting sums ranging from Rs. 10000/- to Rs. 50000/- annually. Sir William Wedderburn presided over the National Congress at two of its sessions—in Bombay (1889) and at Allahabad (1910)."

He passed away early in January 1918 and the All-India Congress Committee which met on 23rd February 1918 at Delhi recorded its sense of sorrow at his death.

B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya : History of the Indian National Congress, Part I, Chapter V, Page 79

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of Dadabhai Naoroji. The most prominent among them were Sir Muncherjee Bhownaggree and Sir W.W.Hunter. Sir Muncherjee was then a Member of Parliament. His assistance was valuable, and he always used to favour us with important suggestions. But if there was any one, who had realized the importance of the Indian question in South Africa before the Indians themselves and accorded them valuable support, it was Sir William Wilson Hunter. He was the editor of the Indian section of the Times, wherein he discussed our question in its true perspective, ever since we first addressed him in connection with it. He wrote personal letters to several gentlemen in support of our cause. He used to write to us almost every week when some important question was on the anvil. This is the purport of his very first letter: "I am sorry to read the situation there. You have been conducting your struggle courteously, peacefully and without exaggeration. My sympathies are with you on this question. I will do my best publicly as well as in private to see that justice is done to you. I am certain that we cannot yield even an inch on ground in this matter. Your demand being so reasonable, no impartial person would even suggest that you should moderate it."

He reproduced this letter almost word by word for the first article he wrote for the Times on the question. His attitude remained the same throughout, and Lady Hunter wrote in the course of a letter that shortly before his death he had prepared an outline of a series of articles which he had planned on the question.

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Shri Mansukhlal Hiralal Nazar of Surat, a nephew of Justice Nanabhai Haridas had also reached South Africa about the same time when *S.S. Courland* reached Durban. The Natal Indian Congress deputed him to England on behalf of the Indian Community to explain their situation in Natal with full details. He was instructed to work with members of all parties. During his stay in England he kept in touch with Sir W.W.Hunter, Sir Muncherjee Bhownaggree and the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. He was also in touch with several retired officers of the Indian Civil Service, with the India Office and with the Colonial Office. The result of all this evidently was that the condition of Indians overseas became a question of first rate importance in the eyes of the Imperial Government. This fact reacted for good as well as for evil on the other colonies. In all the colonies where Indians had settled, they awoke to the importance of their own position. The Europeans thought that the predominance of Indians would be dangerous for them.

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CHAPTER X

THE BOER WAR

It may be recalled here that about four hundred years before, the Dutch (people of Holland), who were in search of good lands for their expansion reached South Africa and founded a settlement there. The English also gradually arrived there. Gandhiji says: "The English and the Dutch were of course cousins. Their characters and ambitions were similar. Pots from the same pottery are often likely to clash against each other. So these two nations, while gradually advancing their respective interests and subduing the Negroes, came into collision. There were disputes and then battles between them."

The Dutch finally settled down in the Transvaal and in the Orange Free State. In South Africa, the Dutch came to be known as "Boers", a word meaning a farmer. The Transvaal and the Orange Free State were Boer Republics. Natal and the Cape Colony were British colonies with responsible Governments. But the enmity between the Dutch and the English did not come to an end. There was a war between them in 1880-81. The English suffered a defeat at Majuba Hill.

Majuba Hill lies between the Indian ocean and the Drakenburg Mountains at the end of the north eastern area of

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Natal. It is 7000 ft. high. On February 27,1881, a small British force under Sir G. Colley seized this Hill. Early next morning the British were attacked by the Boers. Colley was killed and the war of 1880-81 ended with the defeat of the English. The Britishers in the Transvaal were greatly distressed to hear this bad news. To add to their miseries the victorious Boers started troubling them in various ways. So they planned a rising and obtained promises of help from Cecil John Rhodes (Prime Minister of Cape Colony from 1890 to 1896) and his assistant Dr. Jameson.

In pursuance of the conspiracy which Dr. Jameson had entered into with the owners of the gold mines in the Transvaal, he carried out his raid on Johannesburg on December 28, 1895. The conspirators had expected that the Boer Government would come to know of the raid only after they captured Johannesburg. Dr. Jameson and his associates badly blundered in this calculation of theirs. They fell into another error when they imagined that even in case of the plot being discovered, the untrained Boer farmers could do nothing against 500 sharpshooters well-trained in Rhodesia. The raiders had also expected that a large majority of the population of Johannesburg would receive them with open arms. Here too Dr. Jameson's expectation was not correct. President Kruger (of the Transvaal) had full information of the raid beforehand. With great deliberation, skill and secrecy he had made preparations to meet Dr. Jameson and simultaneously arranged to arrest his fellow conspirators.

So, before Dr. Jameson and his army had reached any where near Johannesburg, he was greeted by the Boers with gunfire. The Doctor's party was in no position to face the Boers.

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President Kruger had also made full arrangements for preventing a possible rising in Johannesburg. None dared to raise their heads. The millionaires of Johannesburg were dumb-founded.

Dr. Jameson and his friends, the owners of gold mines were arrested and placed on trial without delay. Some were sentenced to be hanged. Most of these convicts were millionaires; but the Imperial Government could do nothing for them, as they were guilty of a raid in broad daylight.

Mr. Chamberlain, the Secretary of State of the Colonies, sent a humble cablegram to President Kruger, and appealed to his sense of mercy on behalf of the convicted magnates. The conspiracy of Dr. Jameson and his friends was a well-planned affair in their own eyes, but to President Kruger it seemed to be an act of insensate folly. He therefore complied with Mr. Chamberlain's humble request and not only did not enforce the sentence of death against any of the convicts but granted them full pardon and set them free.

Nevertheless President Kruger Knew that the Jameson raid was only a minor symptom of a serious malady. He was sure that the millionaires of Johannesburg would try to wipe out their disgrace by all means in their power. Moreover nothing had been done to carry out the reforms for which the Jameson raid was organized. The millionaires were, therefore, not likely to hold their peace. Lord Milner, the British High Commissioner in South Africa had full sympathy for their demand. Mr. Chamberlain too, while expressing his appreciation of President Kruger's magnanimity towards the Jameson raiders, had drawn his attention to the necessity for reforms. The Boers believed that

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the intention of the millionaires was to extinguish Boer domination in the Transvaal. Both sides were aware that a war between them was unavoidable, and both were preparing for it. A war of words started soon. The British Agent in the Transvaal warned President Kruger that the British would be compelled to bring troops into South Africa in Self-defence. When the British troops actually arrived in South Africa, President Kruger taunted the British and pushed forward his preparations for war. Each side was protesting itself against the other's activities and strengthening its own preparations.

In the meantime the British asked President Kruger to redress the grievances of the Uitlanders, and thus show to the world that they could not help waging war as he (President Kruger) refused to grant any redress. The British further warned President Kruger that they would enter the war with such grand preparation that the Boers would not stand the shock and would have to accept British demands in a spirit of humiliation.

Every Boer man between eighteen and sixty years in age was a skilled fighter. Boer women, too, were capable of fighting if they chose to do so. National independence had, with the Boer, all the force of a religious principle. How could such a brave people suffer humiliation even at the hands of a world empire? So President Kruger did not want to delay any longer in starting the war for which he had completed all preparations. He had already arrived at an understanding with the Orange Free State also. Both the Boer republics followed an identical policy. He mobilised troops on the frontiers of the Transvaal as well as the Orange Free State, and delivered an ultimatum to

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Lord Miller. The time limit laid down in the ultimatum expired and the Boers, advancing with lightning speed, laid siege to Ladysmith, Kimberley and Mafeking. This great Boer War thus broke out in 1899. One of the causes of the war alleged by the British was the treatment accorded to the Indians by the Boers.

What the Indians in South Africa should do on this occasion was now the great question for consideration before them. Among the Boers, the entire male population joined the war. Lawyers gave up their practice, farmers their farms, traders theirs trade, and the servants left their service.

The British in South Africa did not join the war in the same proportion as the Boer. However, a large number of civilians in Cape Colony, Natal and Rhodesia enrolled themselves as volunteers. Many distinguished English traders and lawyers followed suit. Most of the senior members of the bar were engaged in the War work. Very few lawyers attended the Court where Gandhiji was practicing as an advocate at that time.

The average Englishman believed that the Indian was a coward incapable of taking risks and that he did not look beyond his self-interest. The charges ordinarily levelled against the Indians by the British in South Africa were that (1) the Indians came to South Africa only for money-grabbing, (2) they were merely a dead weight upon the British, (3) like worms which settle inside the wood and eat it up hollow, the Indians were in South Africa only to fatten themselves upon them, (4) they would not render them the slightest aid if the country was invaded or if their homes were raided and that the British in such a case would have not only to defend themselves

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against the enemy but at the same time to protect the Indians also.

Indians carefully considered these charges. They felt that the Boer war provided them a golden opportunity to prove that all the charges levelled against them were baseless.

But there was also a power party amongst the Indians, who advanced the following points for consideration:

> "The British oppress us equally as the Boers. If we are subjected to hardships in the Transvaal, we are not very much better off in Natal or the Cape Colony. The difference, if any, is only one of degree. Again, we are more or less a community of slaves; knowing as we do that a small nation like the Boers is fighting for its very existence, why should we be instrumental in their destruction? Finally, from a practical point of view, no one will take it upon himself to predict a defeat for the Boers. And if they win, they will never fail to wreak vengeance upon us."

Gandhiji's personal sympathies were all with the Boers in the beginning when the war was declared but he believed then that he had no right to enforce his individual convictions in such cases. He could very well understand the above arguments and he allowed them due weight. After very careful and deep consideration he said:

> "Our existence in South Africa is only in our capacity as British subjects. In every memorial we have presented, we have asserted our rights as such. We have been proud of our British citizenship, or have given our rulers and the World to believe that we are so proud. Our rulers

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profess to safeguard our rights because we are British subjects, and what little rights we still retain, we retain because we are British subjects. It would be unbecoming to our dignity as a nation to look on with folded hands at a time when ruin stared the British in the face as well as ourselves, simply because they ill-treat us here. And such criminal inaction could only aggravate our difficulties. If we missed this opportunity, which has come to us unsought of proving the falsity of a charge which we believed to be false, we should stand self-condemned, and it would be no matter for surprise if then the English treated us worse than before and sneered at us more than ever. The fault in such a case would lie entirely at our door. To say, that the charges preferred against ourselves had no foundation in fact and were absolutely untenable, would only be to deceive ourselves. It is true that we are helots in the Empire, but so far we have tried to better our condition while continuing to remain in the Empire. That has been the policy of all our leaders in India, and ours too. And if we desire to win our freedom and achieve our welfare as members of the British Empire, here is a golden opportunity for us to do so by helping the British in the war by all the means at our disposal. It must largely be conceded that justice is on the side of the Boers. But every single subject of a state must not hope to enforce his private opinion in all cases. The authorities may not always be right, but so long as the subjects own allegiance to a state, it is their clear duty generally to accommodate themselves, and to accord their support, to the acts of the state.

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"Again, if any class among the subjects considers that the action of a government is immoral from a religious standpoint, before they help or hinder it, they must endeavour fully and even at the risk of their lives to dissuade the government from pursuing such a course. We have done nothing of the kind. Such a moral crisis is not present before us, and no one says that we wish to hold aloof from this war for any such universal and comprehensive reason. Our ordinary duty as subjects, therefore, is not to enter into the merits of the war, but when war has actually, broken out, to render such assistance as we possibly can. Finally, to suggest that in case the Boer won, (?) and or a Boer victory was well within the range of possibility, (?) our condition would be worse than our first, and the Boer would take frightful revenge on us. We would be doing injustice to the Chivalrous Boers as well as to ourselves. To waste the slightest thought upon such a contingency would be only a sign of our effeminacy and a reflection on our loyalty. Would an Englishman think for a moment what would happen to himself if the English lost the war? A man about to join a war cannot advance such an argument without forfeiting his manhood."[1]

Gandhiji's arguments commended themselves to many. Then the practical question arose: Who would lend an ear to the weak voice of the Indians when there was raging this terrible whirlwind of war? What weight would this offer of help carry? None of us had ever wielded a weapon of war. Even the

1. M. K. Gandhi : Satyagraha in South Africa, Ch. IX - The Boer War

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work performed by non-combatants in a war required training. None of us knew even how to march in step. It was no easy task to perform long marches with one's baggage on one's shoulders. Again, the whites would treat us all as "coolies", insult us and look down upon us. How was all this to be borne? And if we volunteered for service, how could we induce the Government to accept our offer?

After long deliberation, the meeting came to the conclusion that "We should make earnest endeavours to get our offer accepted, that the experience of work would teach us to do more work, that if we had the will, God would grant us the ability to serve, that we need not worry how we could do the work entrusted but should train ourselves for it as best we might, and that having once decided to serve, we should cease to think of discriminating between dignified and other work putting up even with insults, if it came to that."

Gandhiji writes in his autobiography ("The story of my experiments with truth"):

> "My loyalty to the British rule drove me to participation with the British in that war. I felt that, if I demanded rights as a British citizen, it was my duty as such, to participate in the defence of the British Empire. I held then that India could achieve her complete emancipation only within and through the British Empire."

The leaders among the Indian community very soon received training in nursing the wounded and the sick, obtained medical certificate of physical fitness and then they sent a formal letter to the Government offering their services in the war. This letter and the eagerness the Indians evinced to

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serve in whatever capacity the Government would accept them created a very good impression. The Government thanked them in reply but rejected their offer for the time being. Meanwhile the Boers continued to advance like a great flood and it was feared that they might reach Durban. There were heaps of wounded and dead everywhere. The Government then accepted the offer of the Indians and accorded their sanction for the formation of an Indian Ambulance corps.

In their letter offering their services for the war, the Indians had expressed their willingness even to do sweeper's or scavenger's work in hospitals. So they were perfectly satisfied with the formation of the Indian Ambulance Corps. Earlier Indians had made their offer only in respect of free and ex-indentured Indians, but they had suggested the desirability of permitting the indentured Indians too to join the rest. As Government was then in need of as many men as they could get, they approached the employers of indentured labourers to allow their men to volunteer, As a result a large and splendid Corps composed of nearly eleven hundred Indians left Durban for the front. At the time of their departure, they received the congratulations and the blessings of Mr. Escombe, whose name is already familiar to the readers. Mr. Escombe was the head of the European volunteers in Natal.

All this was a complete revelation to the English news papers. No one expected that the Indians would take any part in the war. An Englishmen wrote in a leading newspaper a poem eulogistic of the Indians with the following line as a refrain, "We are sons of the Empire after all."

There were between three and four hundred ex-indentured Indians in the Corps, who had been recruited by the efforts of

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the free Indians. Of these, thirty-seven were looked upon as leaders, as the offer to Government had been sent under their signature and as they had brought the others together. Among the leaders there were barristers and accountants while the rest were either artisans such as masons or carpenters or ordinary labourers. Hindus and Musalmans, Madrasis and upcountry men, all classes and creeds were well represented.

There was hardly any trader in the Corps, but the traders subscribed considerable sums of money. The Corps had needs which were not adequately met by the military rations, and which, if satisfied, might provide them with some amenities in their hard camp life. The traders undertook to supply such comforts, and likewise rendered good assistance in entertaining the wounded in the charge of the Indians with sweets, cigarettes and such other things. Whenever the Indians camped near towns the local traders did their best to look after them.

The indentured labourers, who had joined the Corps were under the charge of English overseers from their respective factories. But the work was the same for all and all of them lived together. The management of the entire Corps passed in due course into the hands of the Indians. Thus the whole Corps was described as the Indian Corps and the Indian community received credit for its work. As a matter of fact the Indians were not entitled to the credit for the inclusion of indentured labourers in the Corps, which should rightly have gone to the planters. But the free Indians, that is to say the Indian community, undoubtedly received the credit for the excellent management of the Corps and this was acknowledged by General Buller in his dispatches.

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Doctor Booth, under whom the Indians got training in first aid and ambulance work, joined the Corps in the capacity of Medical Superintendent. He was a pious clergyman and though his work chiefly lay among the Indians Christians, he freely mixed with Indians of all denominations. Doctor Booth was connected with Gandhiji from the very beginning and he got his wholehearted support in organizing the Indians. Through the introduction of Dr. Booth, Gandhiji had called on the Bishop of Natal. The Bishop was delighted with his proposal and promised to help him, and many Christians joined the Indian Ambulance Corps.

There was a European Ambulance Corps also and both the Indian and the European Corps worked side by side in the same place.

Gandhiji says:

"Though our work was to be outside the firing line, and though we had the protection of Red Cross, we were asked at a critical moment to serve within the firing line. General Buller sent the message that, though we were not bound to take the risk, Government would be thankful if we would do so and fetch the wounded from the field. We had no hesitation. During those days sometimes we had to march from twenty to twenty-five miles a day bearing the wounded on stretches. Amongst the wounded we had the honour of carrying soldiers like General Woodgate.

"To carry the wounded seven or eight miles was part of our ordinary routine. The march would commence at eight in the morning, medicines must be administered on the way, and we were required to reach the base

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hospital at five. This was very hard work indeed. The British army met with reverse after reverse in the beginning of the war and large numbers were wounded.... We were only too willing to enter the danger zone and had never liked to remain outside. But none of us received a bullet wound or any other injury."

Gandhiji has placed on record that "although our Corps, including the indentured labourers who might be supposed to be rather uncouth, often came in contact with the members of the temporary Ambulance Corps composed of Europeans as well as the European soldiers, none of us felt that Europeans treated us with contempt or even with discourtesy. The temporary Corps was composed of South African Europeans, who had taken part in the anti-Indian agitation before the war. But the knowledge that the Indians, forgetful of their wrongs, were out to help them in the hour of their need, had melted their hearts for the time being.

"The contribution of the Indians in South Africa to the war was comparatively insignificant. They suffered hardly any loss to life. Yet even a sincerely desire to be of help was bound to impress the other party, and is doubly appreciated when it is quite unexpected. Such fine feeling for the Indians lasted during the continuance of the war."

Gandhiji has further placed a noteworthy incident on record as follows: "Among those who were in Ladysmith when it was invested by the Boers, there were besides Englishmen a few stray Indian settlers. Some of these were traders, while the rest were indentured labourers, working on the railways as servants to English gentlemen, one of whom was

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Parbhusingh. The officer in command in Ladysmith assigned various duties to every resident of the place. The most dangerous and most responsible work was assigned to Parbhusingh who was a "coolie". On a hill near Ladysmith the Boers had stationed a pom-pom, whose operations destroyed many buildings and even occasioned some loss of life. An interval of a minute or two must pass before a shell which had been fixed from the gun reached a distant objective. If the besieged got even short notice, they could take cover before the shell dropped in the town and thus save themselves. Parbhusingh was to sit perched up in a tree, all the time that the gun was working, with his eyes fixed on the hill and to ring a bell the moment he observed a flash. On hearing the bell, the residents of Ladysmith instantly took cover and saved themselves from the deadly cannon ball whose approach was thus announced.

"The officer in-charge of Ladysmith, in eulogizing the invaluable services rendered by Parbhusingh, stated that he worked so zealously that not once he had failed to ring the bell. It need hardly be said that his own life was constantly in peril. The story of his bravery came to be known in Natal and at last reached the ears of Lord Curzon, then Viceroy of India, who sent a Kashmiri robe for presentation to Parbhusingh and wrote to the Natal Government, asking them to carry out the presentation ceremony with all possible publicity. This duty was assigned to the Mayor of Durban who held a public meeting in the Town Hall for the purpose. This incident has a twofold lesson for us. First, we should not despise any man, however humble or insignificant he may be. Secondly, no matter how timid a man is, he is capable of the loftiest heroism when he is put to the test."

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After the War

The most important phase of the war was over in 1900. Ladysmith, Kimberley and Mafeking had been relieved General Cronje had surrendered at Paardeburg. Parts of the British colonies occupied by the Boers had been wrested from their hands. Lord Kitchener had conquered the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Only guerilla warfare was left.

Gandhiji thought that his work in South Africa was now over. Still he could not leave South Africa without the willing consent of the Indian community. He told his colleagues that he intended taking up public work in India. He had learnt in South Africa the lesson of service instead of self-interest, and he was longing for opportunities to carry on such public work in India.

Some Indian youths born and bred in South Africa had returned from England as barristers. Shri Mansukhlal Nazar and Mr. Khan who had closely worked with Gandhiji were there to guide them in public work. Urging these points Gandhiji requested his colleagues to permit him to return to India. His friends agreed to do so, on the condition that if an unexpected situation arose in South Africa requiring his presence there, the community might recall him any day and that he should return at once. They undertook in such a case to bear his travelling expenses and the expenses incurred during his stay in South Africa. Gandhiji agreed to this arrangement and returned to India towards the close of 1901.

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CHAPTER XI

SETTLED IN INDIA

After reaching India, Gandhiji decided to practice in Bombay as a barrister, primarily with a view to do public work under the advice and guidance of Gopal Krishna Gokhale and secondarily in order to make a living for himself side by side with some public work. He rented chambers accordingly and began to get some work.

The 17th session of the Indian National Congress was to be held in Calcutta in the last week of December 1901 under the president-ship of Mr. (later Sir) Dinshaw Wacha. Gandhiji decided to attend it. From Bombay Gandhiji travelled in the same train as Sir Pherozeshah Mehta as he had to speak to him about the conditions in South Africa. Gandhiji says : "I knew the kingly style in which he (Sir Pherozeshah) lived. He had engaged a special saloon for himself; and I had orders to take my opportunity of speaking to him by travelling in his saloon for one stage. I, therefore went to the saloon and reported myself at the appointed station. With him were Mr. Wacha and Mr. Chimanlal Setalvad. They were discussing politics. As soon as Sir Pherozeshah saw me, he said, 'Gandhi, it seems nothing can be done for you. Of course we will pass the resolution you want. But what rights have we in our own

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country? I believe that, so long as we have no power in our own country, you cannot fare better in the Colonies.'

"I was taken aback. Mr. Setalvad seemed to concur in the view; Mr. Wacha cast a pathetic look at me.

"I tried to plead with Sir Pherozeshah, but it was out of the question for one like me to prevail upon the uncrowned king of Bombay. I contented myself with the fact that I should be allowed to move my resolution.

"You will of course show me the resolution" said Mr. Wacha, to cheer me up. I thanked him and left them at the next stop.

"So we reached Calcutta. The President was taken to his camp with great *éclat* by the Reception Committee. I asked a volunteer where I was to go. He took me to the Ripon College, where a number of delegates were being put up. Fortune favoured me. Lokamanya was put up in the same block as I. I have a recollection that he came a day later.

"And as was natural, Lokamanya would never be without his *darbar*. Were I a painter, I could paint him as I saw him seated on his bed, - so vivid is the whole scene in my memory. Of the numberless people that called on him, I can recollect today only one, namely the late Babu Motilal Ghosh, editor of the *Amrit Bazar Patrika*. Their loud laughter and their talks about the wrong-doings of the ruling race cannot be forgotten.

"But I propose to examine in some details the appointments in this camp. The volunteers were clashing against one another. One of them was asked to do something. He delegated it to another, and he in his turn to a third, and so on; and as for the delegates, they were neither here nor there.

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"I made friends with a few volunteers. I told them some things about South Africa, and they felt somewhat ashamed. I tried to bring home to them the secret of service. They seemed to understand, but service is no mushroom growth. It presupposes the will first, and then experience. There was no lack of will on the part of those good simple-hearted young men, but their experience was nil. The Congress would meet three days every year and then go to sleep. What training could one have out of a three days show once a year ? And the delegates were of a piece with the volunteers. They had no better or longer training. They would do nothing themselves. 'Volunteer, do this,' 'Volunteer, do that,' were their constant orders."

In the Congress

Gandhiji writes : "The immense pavilion and the volunteers in stately array, as also the elders seated on the dais, overwhelmed me. I wondered where I should be in that vast assemblage.

"The presidential address was a book by itself. To read it from cover to cover was out of question. Only a few passages were therefore read.

"After this came the election to the Subjects Committee. Gokhale took me to the committee meetings.

"Sir Pherozeshah had of course agreed to admit my resolution, but I was wondering who would put it before the Subjects Committee, and when. For there were lengthy speeches to every resolution, all in English to boot, and every resolution had some well-known leader to back it. Mine was

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but a feeble pipe amongst those veteran drums, and as the night was closing in, my heart beat fast. The resolutions coming at the fag-end were, so far as I can recollect, rushed through at lightning speed. Everyone was hurrying to go. It was 11 o'clock. I had not the courage to speak. I had already met Gokhale, who had looked at my resolution. So I drew near his chair and whispered to him 'Please do something for me.' He said: "Your resolution is not out of my mind. You see the way they are rushing through the resolutions. But I will not allow yours to be passed over."

"So we have done ?" Said Sir Pherozeshah Mehta.

"No, no, there is still the resolution on South Africa. Mr. Gandhi has been waiting long." cried out Gokhale.

"Have you seen the resolution ?" asked Sir Pherozeshah.

"Of course" said Gokhale.

"Do you like it ?" asked Sir Pherozeshah.

"It is quite good." said Gokhale.

"Well then, let us have it Gandhi" said Sir Pherozeshah

Gandhiji then read the resolution trembling. Gokhale supported it.

"Unanimously passed" cried out everyone.

President of the session, Mr Dinshaw Wacha asked Gandhiji to speak on the resolution saying "You will have five minutes to speak, Gandhi!

Gandhiji says: "The procedure was far from pleasing to me. No one had troubled to understand the resolution, everyone

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was in a hurry to go and, because Gokhale had seen the resolution, it was not thought necessary for the rest to see it or understand it. The morning found me worrying about my speech. What was I to say in five minutes ? I had prepared myself fairly well, but the words would not come to me. I decided not to read my speech but to speak *extempore*. But the facility for speaking that I had acquired in South Africa seemed to have left me for the moment.

"As soon as it was time for my resolution, Mr. Wacha called out my name. I stood up. My head was reeling. I read the resolution somehow. Someone had printed and distributed amongst the delegates copies of a poem he had written in praise of foreign emigration. I read the poem and referred to the grievances of the settlers in South Africa. Just at this moment Mr. Wacha rang the bell. I was sure I had not yet spoken for five minutes. I did not know that the bell was rung in order to warn me to finish in two minutes more. I had heard others speak for half an hour or three quarters of an hour, and yet no bell was rung for them. I felt hurt and sat down as soon as the bell was rung. But my childlike intellect thought then that the poem contained an answer to Sir Pherozeshah. There was no question about the passing of the resolution. In those days there was hardly any difference between visitors and delegates. Everyone present there raised his hand and all resolutions used to be passed unanimously. My resolution also fared in this wise and so lost all its importance for me. And yet the very fact that it was passed by the Congress was enough to delight my heart. The knowledge that the *imprimatur* of the Congress meant that of the whole country was enough to 8delight anyone."

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CHAPTER XII

A MONTH WITH GOKHALE

The Congress was over, but as Gandhiji had to meet the Chamber of Commerce and various people in connection with the work in South Africa, he decided to stay in Calcutta for a month. He got the required introduction for a room in the India Club and stayed there. Among the members of the India Club were some prominent Indians, and Gandhiji looked forward to getting in touch with them and interesting them in the work in South Africa.

Gandhiji has recorded in his autobiography an incident that occurred in the India Club during his stay there, as follows:

"Lord Curzon held his *darbar* about this time. Some Rajas and Maharajas who had been invited to the *darbar* were members of the India Club. In the Club I always found them wearing fine Bengali *dhotis* and shirts and scarves. On the *darbar* day they put on trousers befitting *Khansamas* (waiters) and shining boots. I was pained and inquired one of them the reason for the change. He replied:

"We alone know our unfortunate condition. We alone know the insults we have to put up with, in order that we may possess our wealth and titles."

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Gandhiji again asked: "But about these *Khansama* turbans and these shining boots.?"

Pat came the reply : "Do you see any difference between *Khansamas* and us ? They are our *Khansamas*, we are Lord Curzon's *Khansamas*. If I were to absent myself from the *levée* I should have to suffer the consequences. If I were to attend it in my usual dress, it would be an offence. And do you think I am going to get any opportunity there of talking to Lord Curzon ? Not a bit of it !"

Gandhiji says : "I was moved to pity for this plainspoken friend."

Gopal Krishna Gokhale visited this Club frequently to play billiards. He requested Gandhiji to shift from the Club to his residence and to stay with him so long as he wanted to stay in Calcutta. Gandhiji thankfully accepted the invitation but he did not go there immediately. Gokhale waited for a day or two and then he came personally to the India Club and took Gandhiji to his residence, telling him : "Gandhi, you have to stay in the country, and this sort of reserve will not do. You must get into touch with as many people as possible. I want you to do Congress work."

Gandhiji says: "From the very first day of my stay with him, Gokhale made me feel completely at home. He treated me as though I were his younger brother, he acquainted himself with all my requirements and arranged to see that I got all I needed. Fortunately my wants were few, and as I had cultivated the habit of self-help, I needed very little personal attendance. He was deeply impressed with my habit of fending

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for myself, my personal cleanliness, perseverance and regularity, and would often overwhelm me with praise.

"He seemed to keep nothing private from me. He would introduce me to all the important people that called on him. Of these the one who stands foremost in my memory is Dr. P.C.Ray. He lived practically next door and was a very frequent visitor.

"This is how he introduced Dr. Ray : "This is Prof. Ray who having a monthly salary of Rs. 800/-, keeps just Rs. 40/- for himself and devotes the balance to public purposes. He is not, and does not want to get, married.

"Much of the talks between Gokhale and Dr. Ray pertained to public good or were of educative value. At times they were painful too, containing, as they did, strictures on public men. As a result, some of those whom I had regarded as stalwart fighters began to look quite puny.

"To see Gokhale at work was as much a joy as an education. He never wasted a minute. His private relations and friendship were all for public good. All his talks had reference only to the good of the country and were absolutely free from any trace of untruth or insincerity. India's poverty and subjection were matters of constant and intense concern to him. Various people sought to interest him in different things. But he gave every one of them the same reply: `You do the thing yourself. Let me do my own work. What I want is freedom for my country. After that is won, we can talk of other things. To-day that one thing is enough to engage all my time and energy.'

"His reverence for Ranade could be seen every moment. Ranade's authority was final in every matter, and he would

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cite it at every step. He said ; "Ranade was not only a great judge, he was an equally great historian, economist and reformer. Although he was a judge, he fearlessly attended the Congress, and everyone had such confidence in his sagacity that they unquestioningly accepted his decisions."

"Gokhale's joy knew no bounds, as he described the qualities of head and heart which were all combined in his master." (Mahadev Govind Ranade)[1].

Gandhiji continues : "Gokhale used to have a horse-carriage in those days. I did not know the circumstances that had made a horse-carriage a necessity for him, and so I remonstrated with him : "Can't you make use of the tramcar in going about from place to place ? Is it derogatory to a leader's dignity?"

"Slightly pained he said, "So you also have failed to understand me ! I do not use my Council allowances for my own personal comforts. I envy your liberty to go about in tramcars, but I am sorry I cannot do likewise. When you are the victim of as wide a publicity as I am, it will be difficult, if not impossible, for you to go about in a tramcar. There is no reason to suppose that everything that the leaders do is with a view to personal comfort. I love your simple habits. I live as simply as I can, but some expense is almost inevitable for a man like myself."

He thus satisfactorily disposed of one of my complaints, but there was another which he could not dispose of to my satisfaction.

1. He passed away in the year 1901.

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"But you do not even go out for walks," said I. "Is it surprising that you should always be ailing ? Should public work leave no time for physical exercise?"

"When do you ever find me free to go out for a walk?" Gokhale replied.

"I had such a great regard for Gokhale that I never strove with him. Though this reply was far from satisfying me, I remained silent. I believed then, and I believe even now that no matter what amount of work one has, one should always find time for exercise, just as one does for one's meals. It is my humble opinion that, far from taking away from one's capacity for work, it adds to it."

Gandhiji had told his Christian friends in South Africa that in India he would meet the Christian Indians and acquaint himself with their condition. He had heard of Babu Kalicharan Banerji and held him in high regard. He had played a prominent part in the Congress. He sought an appointment with him which he readily gave. When Gandhiji went to his house, he found that his wife was on her death-bed. His house was simple. In the Congress, Gandhiji had seen him in coat and trousers, but in his house he found him wearing a Bengali *dhoti* and shirt. Gandhiji liked his simple mode of dress, though he himself at that time was in a Parsi coat and trousers. Without much ado he presented his difficulties to Babu Kalicharan Banerji.

Banerji asked : "Do you believe in the doctrine of original sin?"

"I do" said Gandhiji.

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"Well then, Hinduism offers no absolution therefrom, Christianity does" said Banerji and added "The wages of sin is death, and the Bible says that the only way of deliverance is surrender unto Jesus"

Gandhiji put forward *Bhakti-marga* (The path of devotion) of the *Bhagavadgita*, but to no avail. Banerji failed to satisfy Gandhiji but he felt benefited by the interview. So he thanked Banerji for his goodness and took leave of him.

During those days Gandhiji walked up and down the streets of Calcutta. He went to most places on foot. He met Justice Mitter and Sir Gurudas Banerji, whose help he wanted in his work in South Africa. He also met Raja Sir Pyarimohan Mukarji.

Kalicharan Banerji had spoken to Gandhiji about the Kali temple. Gandhiji had already read about it in books and he was eager to see it. Justice Mitter's house was in the same locality, and Gandhiji went to the temple on the same day that he visited him. On the way he saw a stream of sheep going to be sacrificed to Kali. Rows of beggars lined the lane leading to the temple. There were religious mendicants too. Gandhiji was sternly opposed to giving alms to sturdy beggars. A crowd of them pursued him. One of such men was found seated on a verandah. He stopped Gandhiji and accosted him : "Where are you going my boy ?" Gandhiji replied him. He then asked Gandhiji and his companion to sit down which they did.

Gandhiji asked him: "Do you regard this sacrifice as religion?"

He replied: "Who would regard killing of animals as religion?"

"Then why don't you preach against it ?"

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"That is not my business. Our business is to worship God."

"But could you not find any other place in which to worship God?"

"All places are equally good for us. The people are like a flock of sheep, following where leaders lead them. It is no business of us *sadhus*."

Gandhiji and his companion did not prolong the discussion. They proceeded to the temple. They were greeted by rivers of blood. Gandhiji could not bear to stand there. He became exasperated and restless.

That very evening he had an invitation to dinner at a party of Bengali friends. There he spoke to a friend about this cruel form of worship. The friend said : "The sheep don't feel anything. The noise and the drum-beating there deaden all sensation of pain."

Gandhiji could not swallow this. He told him that, if the sheep had speech, they would tell a different tale. He felt that the cruel custom ought to be stopped. He thought of the story of Buddha but also saw that the task was beyond his capacity.

During the period of his stay in Calcutta, Gandhiji met several other persons and tried to know Bengali life in detail. He also paid a flying visit to Burma. On his return from Burma he took leave of Gokhale. He planned his journey from Calcutta to Rajkot halting at Banaras, Agra, Jaipur and Palanpur *en route*, and travelling in third class compartments. He says that he did not spend more than Rs. 31/- (including the train fare) on the journey. In travelling third class he mostly preferred the

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ordinary to the mail trains, as he knew that the latter were more crowded and the fares in them higher.

Gokhale and Professor P.C.Ray came to the station to see him off. Gandhiji had asked them both not to take the trouble to come, but they insisted. Gokhale said : "I should not have come if you had gone first class, but now I had to."

Gokhale gave Gandhiji a metal tiffin-box filled with sweet balls and *puris*. He himself purchased a canvas bag worth twelve annas and a long coat of Chhaya wool. The bag was to contain that coat, a dhoti, a towel and a shirt. He had a blanket as well to cover himself with and a water jug. Thus equipped he set forth on his travel. Next morning he arrived at Banaras.

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CHAPTER XIII

VISIT TO BANARAS

In Banaras

Gandhiji has recorded his experiences in Banaras as follows:- "Numerous Brahmans surrounded me, as soon as I got out of the train, and I selected one who struck me to be comparatively cleaner and better than the rest. It proved to be a good choice. There was a cow in the courtyard of his house and an upper storey where I was given a lodging. I did not want to have any food without ablution in the Ganges in the proper orthodox manner. The *panda* made preparations for it. I had told him beforehand that on no account could I give him more than a rupee and four annas as *dakshina*, and that he should therefore keep this in mind while making the preparations.

"The *panda* readily assented. He said : "Be the pilgrim rich or poor, the service is the same in every case. But the amount of *dakshina* we receive depends upon the will and ability of the pilgrim.

"I did not find that the *panda* abridged the usual formalities in my case. The *puja* was over at twelve o'clock, and I went to the Kashi Vishvanath temple for *darshan*. I was deeply pained by what I saw there. When practicing as a barrister in Bombay

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in 1891, I had occasion to attend a lecture on 'Pilgrimage to Kashi' in the Prarthana Samaj hall. I was therefore prepared for some measure of disappointment. But the actual disappointment was greater than I had bargained for.

"The approach (to the temple) was through a narrow and slippery lane. Quiet there was none. The swarming flies and the noise made by the shopkeepers and pilgrims were perfectly insufferable.

"Where one expected an atmosphere of meditation and communion, it was conspicuous by its absence. One had to seek that atmosphere in oneself. I did observe devout sisters, who were absorbed in meditation, entirely unconscious of the environment. But for this the authorities of the temple could scarcely claim any credit. The authorities should be responsible for creating and maintaining about the temple a pure, sweet and serene atmosphere, physical as well as moral. Instead of this I found a *bazar* where cunning shopkeepers were selling sweets and toys of the latest fashion.

"When I reached the temple, I was greeted at the entrance by a stinking mass of rotten flowers. The floor was paved with fine marble, which was, however, broken by some devotee innocent of aesthetic taste, who had set it with rupees serving as an excellent receptacle for dirt.

"I went near the *Jnana-vapi* (well of knowledge). I searched here for God but failed to find Him. I was not therefore in a particularly good mood. The surroundings of the *Jnana-vapi* too I found to be dirty. I had no mind to give any *dakshina*. So I offered a pie. The *panda* in-charge got angry and threw away the pie. He swore at me and said, 'This insult will take you straight to hell.'

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"This did not perturb me. 'Maharaj' said I, 'whatever fate has in store for me, it does not behove one of your class to indulge in such language. You may take this pie if you like, or you will lose that too.'

"Go away" he replied, "I don't care for your pie." And then followed a further volley of abuse.

"I took up the pie and went my way, flattering myself that the Brahman had lost a pie and I had saved one. But the Maharaj was hardly the man to let the pie to go. He called me back and said, `All right, leave the pie here, I would rather not be as you are. If I refuse your pie, it will be bad for you.'

"I silently gave him the pie and, with a sigh, went away."

"If anyone doubts the infinite mercy of God, let him have a look at these sacred places. How much hypocrisy and irreligion does the Prince of Yogis suffer to be perpetrated in His holy name , He proclaimed long ago:

ये यथा मां प्रपद्यन्ते तांस्तथैव भजाम्यहम्।

'Whatever a man sows, that shall he reap.' The law of Karma is inexorable and impossible of evasion. There is thus hardly any need for God to interfere. He laid down the law and, as it were, retired."

"After this visit to the temple, I waited upon Mrs. Besant. I knew that she had just recovered from an illness. I sent in my name. She came at once. As I wished only to pay my respects to her, I said, "I am aware that you are in delicate health. I only wanted to pay my respects. I am thankful that you have been good enough to receive me in spite of your indifferent health. I will not detain you any longer. So saying I took leave of her."

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CHAPTER XIV

RAMANAMA

Barrister in Bombay

Completing the above mentioned journey, Gandhiji returned to Rajkot. Gokhale was very anxious that Gandhiji should settle down in Bombay, practice at the bar and help him in public work. Public work in those days meant Congress work, and the chief work of the institution was to carry on the Congress administration. Gandhiji liked Gokhale's advice but he decided to start work first at Rajkot. The success there inspired the desired confidence in him and he shifted to Bombay. He had hired chambers in the Fort and a house in Girgaun.

Scarcely had he moved into his new house, his second son Manilal, who was only ten years old, had a severe attack of typhoid, combined with pneumonia and signs of delirium at night.

The doctor was called in. He said medicine would have little effect, but eggs and chicken broth might be given with profit. The doctor was a very good Parsi.. Gandhiji told him that being a strict vegetarian he could not possibly give either of the two things to his son. He requested him to recommend something else.

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The good doctor said: "Your son's life is in danger. We can give him milk diluted with water, but that will not give him enough nourishment. As you know, I am called in by many Hindu families, and they do not object to anything I prescribe. I think you will be well-advised not to be so hard on your son."

Gandhiji said : "What you say is quite right. As a doctor you could not do otherwise. But my responsibility is very great. If the boy had been grown up, I should certainly have tried to ascertain his wishes and respected them. But here I have to think and decide for him. To my mind it is only on such occasions that a man's faith is truly tested. Rightly or wrongly it is part of my religious conviction that man may not eat meat, eggs, and the like. There should be a limit even to the means of keeping ourselves alive. Even for life itself we may not do certain things. Religion, as I understand it, does not permit me to use meat or eggs for me or mine even on occasions like this, and I must therefore take the risk that you say is likely. But I beg of you one thing. As I cannot avail myself of your treatment, I propose to try some hydro-pathic remedies which I happen to know. But I do not know how to examine the boy's pulse, chest, lungs etc. If you will kindly look in from time to time to examine him and keep me informed of his condition, I shall be grateful to you."

Gandhiji continues: "The good doctor appreciated my difficulty and agreed to my request. Though Manilal could not have made his choice, I told him what had passed between the doctor and myself and asked him his opinion.

"Do try your hydro-pathic treatment," he said, "I will not have eggs or chicken broth."

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This made me glad, though I realized that, if I had given him either of these, he would have taken it.

Gandhiji knew Kuhne's treatment and had tried it too. He also knew well that fasting also could be tried with profit. So he began to give Manilal hip baths according to Kuhne, never keeping him in the tub for more than three minutes, and kept him on orange juice mixed with water for three days. But the temperature persisted, going up to 104°. At night Manilal would be delirious and Gandhiji began to get anxious. He had faith in hydro-pathy and little faith in allopathy. He concluded : "The thread of life was in the hands of God. Why not trust it to Him and in His name go on with what I thought was the right treatment?"

It was past nine in the night. Gandhiji decided to give Manilal a wet sheet pack. He got up, wetted a sheet, wrung the water out of it and wrapped it about Manilal. Keeping only his head out, and then covered him with two blankets. To the head he applied a wet towel. The whole body was burning like hot iron and quite parched. There was absolutely no perspiration.

Gandhiji then left Manilal in the charge of his mother and went out for a walk on Chaupati to refresh himself. It was about ten o'clock. Very few pedestrians were out. Gandhiji was plunged in deep thought; he scarcely looked at them. *Ramanama* was on his lips. 'Oh Lord, My honour is in Thy keeping in this hour of trial' he repeated to himself. After a short time he returned home, his heart beating hard within his breast.

No sooner had he entered the room than Manilal said, "You have returned, Babu?"

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"Yes Darling."

"Do please pull me out, I am burning" said Manilal.

"Are you perspiring, my boy?"

"I am simply soaked. Do please take me out."

Gandhiji felt his forehead. It was covered with beads of perspiration. The temperature was going down. He thanked God. "Manilal" he said, "your fever is sure to go now. A little more perspiration and then I will take you out."

"Pray, no. Do deliver me from this furnace. Wrap me some other time if you like." said Manilal.

Gandhiji just managed to keep him under the pack for a few minutes more by diverting him. The perspiration streamed down his forehead. Gandhiji then undid the pack and dried Manilal's body. Father and son fell asleep in the same bed. Each slept like a log.

Next morning Manilal had much less fever. He went on for forty days on diluted milk and fruit juices. It was an obstinate type of fever but due to God's grace it had been got under control. Within a few days Manilal was restored to normal health. Gandhiji's prayer saved his honour.

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CHAPTER XV

TO SOUTH AFRICA AGAIN

Gandhiji felt that the Girgaun house was not suitable for him for habitation. For some days he wandered in Bandra and Santa Cruz in search of a good house and finally he selected a fine bungalow in Santa Cruz which he found to be the best from the point of view of sanitation. He soon shifted there.

He took a first class season ticket from Santa Cruz to Churchgate and often walked to Bandra in order to take the fast train from there direct to Churchgate. He prospered in his profession better than what he had expected. Due to his close connection with South Africa, clients who had returned from that country alone gave him sufficient work and it was enough to enable him to pay his way.

Hardly three or four months had passed. He had opened his office in Bombay in July 1902. Just when he seemed to be settling down as he had intended, he received an unexpected cable from South Africa: 'Chamberlain expected here. Please return immediately.'

Gandhiji remembered his promise and immediately cabled to say that he would be ready to start the moment they put him in funds. They promptly responded. Gandhiji gave up the chambers and started for South Africa by the first available

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steamer. This was near the end of 1902. He thought that he would be able to return to India within six months and so he kept the bungalow and left his wife and children there.

"The separation from wife and children, the breaking up of a settled establishment, and the going from the certain to the uncertain,— all this was for a moment painful, but I had inured myself for an uncertain life" says Gandhiji. He continues: "I think it is wrong to expect certainties in this world, where all else but God that is truth is an uncertainty. All that appears and happens about and around us is uncertain, transient. But there is a Supreme Being hidden therein as a certainty, and one would be blessed if one could catch a glimpse of that certainty and hitch one's wagon to it. The quest for that truth is the *summum bonum* of life."

Gandhiji reached Durban not a day too soon. There was work waiting for him. The date for the deputation to wait on Mr. Chamberlain had been fixed. Gandhiji had to draft the memorial to be submitted to him and accompany the deputation.

Gandhiji and many of his friends in South Africa had hoped that the position of Indians throughout South Africa would improve after the Boer war.

They did not anticipate trouble in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State at any rate, as Lord Landsdowne, Lord Selborne and other high functionaries had declared when the war broke out that the treatment accorded to the Indians by the Boers was one of the causes of the war. The British Agent at Pretoria had often told Gandhiji that if the Transvaal became a British Colony, all the grievances under which the Indians

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laboured would be instantly redressed. The Europeans too believed that as the Transvaal had come under the British Flag, the old laws of the Boer republic directed against the Indians could not be enforced. This principle was so widely accepted that the auctioneers, who before the war did not accept bids from Indians for the purchase of the land openly accepted such bids after the war. Many Indians thus purchased lands at public auctions, but when they tendered the deeds of transfer to the revenue officer for registration, the officer-in-charge refused to register the deeds quoting Act 3 of 1885! Gandhiji learnt all this on landing at Durban. The leaders told him that Mr. Chamberlain would first come to Durban and we must first acquaint him with the situation in Natal. This done, he should follow him to the Transvaal.

A deputation waited upon Mr. Chamberlain in Natal on the date fixed after his arrival. He had come to get a gift of 35 million pounds from South Africa, and to win the hearts of Englishmen and Boers. So he gave a cold shoulder to the Indian deputation. Of course he gave it a courteous hearing but said that "The Imperial Government has little control over the self-governing Colonies. Your grievances seem to be genuine. I shall do what I can, but you must try your best to placate the Europeans, if you wish to live in their midst." He however promised to confer with the Natal Government on the subject of its representation. The members of the Deputation as well as Gandhiji were disappointed.

Gandhiji says: "It was an eye-opener for us all, and I saw that we should start with our work *de novo*. I explained the situation to my colleagues. As a matter of fact there was

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nothing wrong about Mr. Chamberlain's reply. It was well that he did not mince matters."

Mr. Chamberlain had given only a short period of time to South Africa and within this time he had to cover a long distance of not less than 1100 miles at hurricane speed. From Natal he was to go to the Transvaal. Gandhiji had to prepare the case for the Indians there as well and submit it to him. The Indians there were not in a position to procure the necessary legal facilities for getting him there in time.

Before the Boer war any Indian could at any time enter the Transvaal. This was not the case after the war. The restrictions imposed however applied for all - Europeans as well as Indians. The condition of the country was still such, that if a large number of people entered the Transvaal all at once, there would not be sufficient food and clothing to go round, as all the shops had not been reopened after the war. The goods stocked in the shops had been unceremoniously appropriated by the late Boer Government. Permit offices were opened in the various ports of South Africa and every outsider, whether European or Indian, had to obtain permit from the Permit office. But there was a difference in the procedure by which a European and an Indian could obtain permit. For all practical purposes a European could obtain permit for mere asking while an Asiatic Department was created in the Transvaal for dealing with Indians. The creation of this special department was a new departure. Indians were required to apply to the head of that department in the first instance. After he had granted their applications, they could generally obtain permits at Durban or any other port.

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If Gandhiji had to go through all these formalities there was no hope of his getting a permit before Chamberlain left the Transvaal. Gandhiji did not know the permit officer, but as he knew the Police Superintendent of Durban Mr. Alexander, he requested him to accompany him to the permit office. Mr. Alexander immediately came to the permit office and introduced Gandhiji to the permit officer as an old resident of the Transvaal and helped to obtain the permit. There was hardly an hour left before the train was to start. Gandhiji had kept his luggage ready. He thanked Superintendent Alexander and boarded the train for Pretoria, and arrived there on January 1, 1903.

On reaching Pretoria Gandhiji drafted the memorial to be submitted to Mr. Chamberlain on behalf of the Indians living in the Transvaal. In Durban, the names of the members of the Indian deputation were not asked for in advance. But in the Transvaal, the new Asiatic Department had been established and started functioning much before Gandhiji reached there. This department asked the Pretoria Indians to submit in advance the names of their representatives which they did. When the officers of this department found the name of Gandhiji there, they were startled. The chief of the office called the Indian leader Sheth Tyeb Haji Khanmahomed and asked him who was Gandhi and why he had come there.

Tyeb Sheth said : "He is our adviser and he has come here at our request."

"Then what are we here for? Have we not been appointed to protect you? What can Gandhi know of the conditions here?" asked the officer.

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Tyeb Sheth answered the charge as best he could: "Of course you are there. But Gandhi is our man. He knows our language and understands us. You are after all officials."

The officer ordered Tyeb Sheth to fetch Gandhi before him. Gandhiji went to him in the company of Tyeb Sheth and others. No seats were offered to them. All were kept standing.

The officer asked Gandhiji, "What brings you here?"

"I have come here at the request of my fellow countrymen to help them with my advice," replied Gandhiji.

"But don't you know that you have no right to come here? The permit you hold was given by mistake. You cannot be regarded as a domiciled Indian. You must go back. You shall not wait on Mr. Chamberlain. It is for the protection of the Indians here that the Asiatic Department had been especially created. Well, you may go." said the officer.

He did not give any opportunity to Gandhiji to reply. But he detained his companions. He gave them a sound scolding and advised them to send Gandhiji away. Soon they received a letter also from the Chief of the Asiatic Department to the effect that, as Mr. Gandhi had seen Mr. Chamberlain in Durban, it had been found necessary to omit his name from the deputation which was to wait on him in Pretoria.

Tyeb Sheth and other Indian leaders then proposed to drop the idea of the deputation altogether. They said that an insult to Gandhiji was an insult to the Indian community.

Gandhiji pacified them and said: "If you do not represent your case before Mr. Chamberlain, it will be presumed that you

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have no case at all. After all, the representation has to be made in writing, and we have got it ready. It does not matter in the least whether I read it or someone else reads it. Mr. Chamberlain is not going to argue the matter with us. I am afraid we must swallow the insult."

Gandhiji advised them to have, in his place, Mr. George Godfrey, an Indian Barrister, who was present at the time. So the deputation, led by Mr. Godfrey, waited upon Mr. Chamberlain. The memorial prepared by Gandhiji was read by him. When Gandhiji's name was mentioned in the course of the interview, Mr. Chamberlain said, "I have already seen Mr. Gandhi in Durban. I therefore refused to see him here, in order that I might learn about the situation in the Transvaal at first hand from local residents."

Mr. Chamberlain did not know that Gandhiji had lived in the Transvaal and was fully conversant with the Indian situation there. He was so much under the influence of the Asiatic Department and so anxious to humour the Europeans that there was little hope of his doing justice to Indians.

Gandhiji had thought that he could return to India as soon as Mr. Chamberlain left South Africa but he could now clearly see the great danger facing the South African Indians. And he came to the conclusion that he must remain in South Africa until the gathering clouds clear away completely. He told his companions about his decision. This was what they wanted and the whole Indian Community stood by his side.

Gandhiji soon applied for admission to practice in the Transvaal. There was some apprehension that the Law Society there would oppose his application, but it proved groundless.

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He was enrolled as an attorney of the Supreme Court and he opened an office in Johannesburg. Of all the places in the Transvaal, Johannesburg had the largest population of Indians and was therefore well suited for him to settle in, from the standpoint of public work as well as of his own maintenance. It was difficult for an Indian to secure rooms for office in a suitable locality. But Gandhiji had come in fairly close contact with Mr. L.W. Ritch, who was then one of the merchants there and through the good offices of a house agent known to him, he succeeded in securing suitable rooms for his office in the legal quarters of the city and he started his professional work.

As in Natal, in Johannesburg also Gandhiji concentrated his attention more on public work. Here his main objective was to secure the rightful place for the Indian community in the Transvaal. Nearly all the Indians residing in the Transvaal at that time were pre-war residents, holding permits from the defunct Dutch Government for which they had paid a statutory fee of £ 3 to £ 25 or holding Peace Preservation Ordinance permits. But, instead of protecting the Indians, the Chinese and other Asiatics, the dishonest officers of the Asiatic Department were extorting money from them. On the other hand, persons who had no right at all to enter the Transvaal were being smuggled in by them on payment of a heavy bribe.

Gandhiji was receiving complaints in this regard every day and he determined to stamp out this evil at the earliest. For this purpose and for safeguarding the Indians living in the Transvaal he founded the Transvaal British Indian Association. He was the honorary and legal adviser of this association, which had a large membership. As the Honorary Secretary of

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this Association, Gandhiji started collecting evidence against the corrupt officers of the Asiatic Department and as soon as he had gathered a fair amount of evidence, he approached the Police Commissioner there. After listening to Gandhiji patiently, he asked him to show all the evidence in his possession. The Police Commissioner, who was a just man, examined the papers carefully and was fully satisfied but he felt that it was difficult in South Africa to get a white jury to convict a white offender against coloured men. Nevertheless he said : "Let us try at any rate. It is not proper to let such criminals to go scot-free for fear of the jury acquitting them. I must get them arrested. I assure you I shall leave no stone unturned."

The Police Commissioner issued arrest warrants against the two officers. One of them absconded. The Police Commissioner obtained an extradition warrant against him and got him arrested. Both the officers were tried in the Transvaal Court. Although there was strong evidence against them, both were declared to be not guilty and acquitted.

Gandhiji was sorely disappointed. The Police Commissioner was also very sorry. However, the guilt of both these officers was so patent that in spite of their acquittal, the Government could not harbour them. Both were dismissed from service, and the Asiatic Department became comparatively clean, and the Indian community was somewhat reassured.

Gandhiji says:

"Though these officers were so bad, I had nothing against them personally. They were aware of this themselves, and when in their straits they approached me, I helped them too. They had a chance of getting

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employed by the Johannesburg Municipality in case I did not oppose the proposal. A friend of theirs saw me in this connection and I agreed not to thwart them, and they succeeded.

"This attitude of mine put the officials with whom I came in contact perfectly at ease, and though I had often to fight with their department and use strong language, they remained quite friendly with me. I was not then quite conscious that such behaviour was part of my nature. I learnt later that it was an essential part of *Satyagraha,* and an attribute of *ahimsa*.

"Man and his deed are two distinct things. Whereas a good deed should call forth approbation and a wicked deed disapprobation, the doer of the deed, whether good or wicked always deserves respect or pity as the case may be. 'Hate the sin and not the sinner' is a precept which, though easy enough to understand, is rarely practised, and that is why the poison of hatred spreads in the world."

The event connected with the officers of the Asiatic department enhanced the prestige of Gandhiji and brought him more business. It seemed impossible for him to cope with professional and public work without the assistance of a stenographer. With the help of a friend he could secure the services of a Scotch girl named Miss Dick on a monthly salary of £ 17/10. Besides working as steno-typist, she attended to other duties also. She was often entrusted with the management of funds amounting to thousands of pounds. She was also in charge of account books. Before very long she became more a daughter

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or a sister to Gandhiji and he had the privilege to give her away in marriage. She had to leave his service after the marriage but she did not fail to respond to help Gandhiji whenever there was pressure of work in his office. Gandhiji was fortunate in getting another good girl Miss Schlesin to work as steno-typist in his office. She helped Gandhiji a good deal for a number of years. She refused to draw more than £ 10 a month and took the keenest interest in his activities.

The appointment of a steno-typist alone was not enough to cope with the increasing work of Gandhiji. He needed assistance in his professional work too. He consulted his friend Mr. Ritch in this connection and he agreed to leave the commercial firm where he was working at that time and to join Gandhiji as an articled trainee under him. He considerably lightened Gandhiji's burden and let him devote more time to public work.

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CHAPTER XVI

WEEKLY JOURNAL "INDIAN OPINION" LAUNCHED

About this time a Gujarati gentleman, Madanjit Vyavaharik approached Gandhiji with a proposal to start *Indian Opinion* and sought his advice. Mr. Madanjit had already been conducting a printing press in Durban and he wanted to bring out a newspaper too for the benefit of the Indians living in South Africa. Gandhiji approved of his proposal. The journal was launched in 1903. Sri Mansukhlal Nazar, who was a trained journalist, offered his services free and he became the first editor of this journal but he threw on Gandhiji the responsibility of attending to the editorial columns. In the beginning, the journal used to be issued in Gujarati, Hindi, Tamil and English. But afterwards it was being published only in English and Gujarati. The journal became very useful not only in educating the local Indian community but it also kept Indians all over the world in touch with the course of events in South Africa.

Gandhiji had no notion that he would have to invest any money in the journal but he soon discovered that it could not go on without his financial help. The Indians and the Europeans both knew that, though he was not avowedly the editor of *Indian Opinion* he was virtually responsible for its conduct. To

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stop it after it was launched would have been disgraceful. So he decided to continue the journal in spite of all adversities. During the first year itself he had to put in £ 2000 from his own income to keep the journal going.

Madanjit Vyavaharik also, on his part was canvassing subscribers for *Indian Opinion* and in that connection he visited Johannesburg in March 1904. By chance he happened to be in a densely populated Indian location where there was a sudden outbreak of black plague also called pneumonic plague. Madanjit bravely broke open the lock of a vacant house and put all the patients there and sent a pencil-note to Gandhiji asking him to come there immediately and take prompt measures. Gandhiji at once cycled to the location, and wrote to the Town Clerk to inform him of the circumstances in which they had taken possession of the house.

The Town Clerk expressed his gratitude to Gandhiji for having taken charge of the vacant house and the patients. He confessed that the Town Council had no immediate means to cope with such an emergency, but promised that they would render all the help in their power. Once awakened to a sense of their duty, the Municipality made no delay in taking prompt measures.

The next day the Municipality placed a vacant godown at the disposal of Gandhiji and suggested that the patients be removed there. The building was unkempt and unclean. Gandhiji and co-workers cleaned it up themselves, raised a few beds and other necessaries through the offices of charitable Indians and improvised a temporary hospital. The Municipality lent the services of a nurse, who came with brandy and other hospital equipment.

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Dr. William Godfrey, a practicing doctor in Johannesburg, who had rushed to help Gandhiji as soon as he got the news and was working as both nurse and doctor to the patients, continued his work even after the arrival of the nurse.

Gandhiji and his co-workers had instructions to give the patients frequent doses of brandy. The nurse asked them also to take it for precaution, just as she was doing herself. But none of them touched it. Gandhiji had no faith in its beneficial effect even for the patients. With the permission of Dr. Godfrey, he put three patients, who were prepared to do without brandy, under the earth treatment applying wet earth bandages to their heads and chests.

Out of twenty-three patients, twenty were taking brandy and three were under the earth treatment of Gandhiji. All the twenty died. Out of the three who were under the earth treatment, two could be saved.

Meanwhile the Municipality was busy taking other measures. There was a lazaretto for contagious diseases about seven miles from Johannesburg. The two surviving patients were removed to tents near the lazaretto, and arrangements were made for sending fresh cases, if any, there. Gandhiji and his co-workers were thus relieved of their work. By the grace of God they remained immune.

Madanjit remained all the time with Gandhiji helping him in every possible manner. Gandhiji had not forgotten to make necessary arrangements to carry on his work in the *Indian Opinion* press at Durban. He requested his English friend, Mr. Albert West, whom he describes as a pure, sober, God-

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fearing human Englishman, to go to Durban and take charge of the *Indian Opinion* press immediately. Mr. West belonged to a peasant family. He had only an ordinary school education but had learnt a good deal in the school of experience and by dint of self-help. In Johannesburg, he was a partner in a small printing concern and so had sufficient knowledge of printing work. He readily agreed and left for Durban the very next day by the evening mail.

In his first report sent from Durban by Mr. West to Gandhiji, he wrote: "I do not expect the concern to yield the profit that you had thought probable. I am afraid there may be even a loss. The books are not in order. There are heavy arrears to be recovered, but one cannot make head or tail of them. Considerable overhauling will have to be done. But all this need not alarm you. I shall try to put things right as best as I can. I remain on whether there is profit or not."

On receipt of Mr. West's letter, Gandhiji left for Natal. Mr. Henry S. L. Polak, a very close friend of Gandhiji came to see him off at the station. He left a book with Gandhiji to read during the journey. It was Ruskin's *Unto This Last*.

Gandhiji says : "This was the first book of Ruskin I had ever read. It was impossible to lay the book aside, once I had begun it. It gripped me, Johannesburg to Durban was a twenty-four hours journey. The train reached there in the evening. I could not get any sleep that night. I determined to change my life in accordance with the ideals of the book. I discovered that some of my deepest convictions were reflected in this great book of Ruskin, and that is why it captured me and made me transform my life."

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"The teaching of *Unto This Last* I understood to be:

1. That the good of the individual is contained in the good of all.

2. That a lawyer's work has the same value as the barber's inasmuch as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work.

3. That a life of labour, i.e., the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman is the life worth living.

"The first of these I knew. The second I had dimly realized. The third had never occurred to me. *Unto This Last* made it as clear as daylight for me that the second and the third were contained in the first. I arose with the dawn, ready to reduce these principles to practice."

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CHAPTER XVII

THE PHOENIX ASHRAM

Gandhiji talked over the whole matter with Mr. West, described to him the effect *Unto This Last* had produced on his mind, and proposed that *Indian Opinion* should be removed to a farm, on which everyone should labour, drawing the same living wage, and attend to the press work in their spare time. Mr. West approved of the proposal, and £ 3 was laid down as the monthly allowance per head, irrespective of colour or nationality.

After fixing the initial matters Gandhiji advertised for a piece of land situated near a railway station in the vicinity of Durban. An offer came in respect of Phoenix. Mr.West and Gandhiji went to inspect the estate. Within a week, they purchased twenty acres of land. It had a nice little spring and a few orange and mango trees. Adjoining it was a piece of 80 acres which had many more fruit trees and a dilapidated cottage. They purchased this too. The total cost amounted to a thousand pounds.

Mr. Rustomji an old friend of Gandhiji gave him second-hand corrugated iron sheets of a big godown and other building materials. Some Indian carpenters and masons, who had worked

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with Gandhiji in the Boer War came to help him in the construction work. And a shed for the press which was 70 feet long and 50 feet broad, was ready in less than a month. The place, uninhabited and thickly overgrown with grass, was infes-ted with snakes. Mr. West and others stayed there at great personal risk. The Phoenix Settlement came into being in the middle of the year 1904.

Gandhiji endeavoured to draw to Phoenix those relations and friends who had come from India to try their fortune. But no one except Maganlal Gandhi, was willing to come to a place situated fourteen miles away from Durban, and two and a half miles from Phoenix station. Only Maganlal Gandhi left his business for good to cast in his lot with Gandhiji.

Soon after the construction of the shed, *Indian Opinion* was transferred from Durban to Phoenix. An oil-engine was installed for working the press. But Gandhiji thought that hand power would be more in keeping with the atmosphere where agricultural work was to be done by hand. A wheel mechanism was, therefore, maintained. *Indian Opinion* was also reduced to foolscap size so that in case of emergency, copies of the journal could be struck off on a treadle.

On the first night the engine refused to work. A mechanic and Mr. West came in despair to Gandhiji to break the news. Gandhiji immediately woke up the carpenters, who were sleeping on the premises and put them to work on the wheel. Gandhiji also worked along with the carpenters, all the rest joined turn by turn. They worked in this way till seven in the morning. There was still a good deal to finish but the machine now

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started working as soon as it was touched. By the Grace of God copies of the journal could be despatched in time.

For some time the use of the engine was deliberately given up and the press was worked with hand power only. In the initial stages all the settlers had to keep late hours before the day of publication. Everyone, young and old, had to help in folding the sheets and despatching them. Though there were regular paid compositors, every member of the settlement (Ashram) learnt the tedious work of type-setting. Maganlal Gandhi mastered type setting and quickly learnt all the other branches of press-work.

The settlers of Phoenix Ashram were divided into two classes, the "Schemers" and the paid workers. The "Schemers" had to make a living by manual labour. They were given three acres of land each, around the press. No land was fenced in. Paths and narrow roads divided one holding from another. The original idea was to build mud huts thatched with straw or small brick houses. But due to lack of funds, structures of corrugated iron were created by the settlers. If any member vacated his house or holding, it was not sold but passed on to another member. The original members of the settlement comprised a small group of Indian and European idealists. The colony was to be as much as possible self-supporting, and life's material requirements were to be reduced to a minimum.

Between the settlement and the railway station was a big sugar estate covering thousands of acres of land. Apart from a little general store, a short distance from the railway station, there was no shopping convenience and all articles had to be procured from Durban.

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Indian Opinion was published from Phoenix every week. The object of the paper was "to bring the European and Indian subjects of King Edward closer together; to educate the public; to remove causes for misunderstanding; to put before the Indians their own blemishes; and to show them the path of duty while they insisted on securing their right."

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CHAPTER XVIII

BACK TO JOHANNESBURG

Gandhiji's idea was to retire from practice gradually and live at the Phoenix settlement, earn his livelihood by manual work there, and find the joy of service in the fulfilment of Phoenix. But that was not to be. He could not afford to leave his work at Johannesburg unattended for a long time. So after making the necessary arrangements at Phoenix he returned to Johannesburg.

Mr. Ritch who had joined him as an articled trainee was managing the office during Gandhiji's absence. He expressed his desire to complete his legal studies in England. It was impossible for Gandhiji to bear the burden of the office single-handed. So he suggested to his friend Polak that he should join the office and qualify as an attorney. He readily agreed. About the same time a Scotch theosophist, whom Gandhiji had been coaching for a local legal examination also joined as an articled clerk under him. His name was Mr. MacIntyre.

The monthly average income of Gandhiji from practice in Johannesburg was more than £ 300. Where poor people were concerned, he charged very low fees or did not charge at all. He always advised his clients to settle with their opponents out of court.

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Gandhiji's activities increased considerably and he gave up all hope of returning to India in the near future. So, at the beginning of 1905, he decided to send for his family. Kasturbai with her three sons- Manilal aged ten, Ramdas aged eight and Devadas aged five, joined him soon.

The residence of Gandhiji in Johannesburg was situated in a fairly good middle-class neighbourhood on the outskirts of the town. It was a double-storied, detached eight-room building of the villa type, surrounded by a garden, and having an open space in front. The household consisted Gandhiji's family, Mr. Polak and Mr. West. Within the next few months both of them got married and Mrs. Polak and Mrs. West also joined their husbands. Gandhiji introduced as much simplicity as was possi-ble in a barrister's house. The liking for doing physical labour increased. Every morning at 6-30, all the male members of the household assembled for grinding wheat. The grinding took fifteen to thirty minutes.

For some time Gandhiji used to go to his office on a bicycle but soon he gave it up and walked the whole distance of about six miles from his house, both to and fro.

In the realm of religion

During his first sojourn in South Africa (May 1893 - May 1896), Gandhiji came in close contact with Christian friends, who tried hard to bring home to him and make him accept the message of Jesus. Gandhiji says: I was a humble and respectful listener with an open mind. At that time I naturally studied Hinduism to the best of my ability and endeavoured to understand other religions."

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Abdulla Sheth also had kept on inducing him to study Islam. Gandhiji purchased Sale's translation of the Koran and started reading it. He also obtained other books on Islam.

In 1903 the position was somewhat changed. Mr. Ritch who had joined Gandhiji as an articled trainee was a theosophist and he put him in touch with the Theosophical Society at Johannesburg. He came in close contact with almost every theosophist there and had religious discussions with them every day. Theosophical literature is replete with Hindu influence. So Gandhiji started reading Swami Vivekananda's *Rajayoga*, Patanjali's *Yogasutras* and the *Bhagavadgita*. He had one or two translations of these books, by means of which he tried to understand the original Sanskrit. He also decided to get by heart one or two verses every day. For this purpose he employed the time of his morning ablutions. To him the *Bhagavadgita* became an infallible guide of conduct.

At the residence of Gandhiji in Johannesburg, after dinner the family members used to sit silently together whilst Gandhiji intoned a couple of verses from the Gita. Polak would then read the English equivalent from Arnold's *The Song Celestial*. Gandhiji would explain the difficult passages and then a general discussion followed. Some times guests also used to attend this meeting. The philosophies of different countries used to be compared on such occasions.

Gandhiji had more or less settled down in Johannesburg from the beginning of 1905 after the arrival of his family there. He was breathing in peace following the daily routine mentioned above. But an unexpected event disturbed the peace. In April 1906 the papers brought the news of the outbreak of the 'Zulu Rebellion' in Natal.

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CHAPTER XIX

THE ZULU REBELLION

Gandhiji had doubts about the 'rebellion' itself. They had harmed no Indian. But he believed that the British Empire existed for the welfare of the world. A genuine sense of loyalty prevented him from even wishing ill to the Empire.

Natal had a Volunteer Defence Force and it was open to it to recruit more men. He read in the papers that this force had already been mobilized to quell the rebellion. Gandhiji wrote to the Governor of Natal, expressing his readiness, if necessary, to form an Indian Ambulance Corps. The Governor replied immediately accepting the offer.

Even before writing the letter to the Governor, Gandhiji had decided to break up the Johannesburg home. He sent his family to the Phoenix Ashram. Polak shifted to a smaller house. and Gandhiji gave the landlord the usual month's notice for vacating the house, sent some things to Phoenix and left some with Polak.

Gandhiji reached Durban immediately on receiving the reply of the Governor and reported to the Chief Medical Officer who appointed him to the temporary rank of sergeant - major. The Indian Ambulance Corps received uniform from the Government and was hurriedly despatched to the front. The Indian Ambu-

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lance Corps of Gandhiji consisted of twenty-four volunteers of whom, besides Gandhiji, four were Gujaratis, nineteen ex-indentured men from South India and one free Pathan.

On reaching the scene of the 'rebellion' Gandhiji saw that there was nothing there to justify the name of 'rebellion'. There was no resistance that one could see. The reason why the disturbance had been magnified into a rebellion was that a Zulu Chief had advised non-payment of a new tax imposed on his people and had assagaied a sergeant who had gone to collect the tax. At any rate Gandhiji's heart was with the Zulus, and he was delighted to know that the main work of the Indian Ambulance Corps was to be the nursing of the wounded Zulus. The Medical Officer in charge told him that the white people were not willing to attend to the wounded Zulus, and hailed the arrival of Indian Ambulance Corps as a godsend for those innocent people. He equipped the Indian Corps with bandages, disinfectants, etc., and took them to the improvised hospital. The Zulus were delighted to see the Indians.

The wounded in the charge of the Indian Corps were not wounded in battle. A section of them had been taken prisoners as suspects. The General had sentenced them to be flogged. The flogging had caused severe sores. These, being unattended to, were festering. The others were Zulu friendlies. Although they had badges given them to distinguish them from the 'enemy', they had been shot at by the soldiers by mistake.

Besides this work, Gandhiji had to compound and dispense prescriptions for the white soldiers. This was easy enough for him as he had received a year's training in Dr. Booth's little hospital. This work brought him in close contact with many Europeans.

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The Indian Ambulance Corps was attached to a swift-moving column. It had orders to march wherever danger was reported. It was for the most part mounted infantry. As soon as their camp was moved, the Ambulance Corps had to follow on foot with stretchers on their shoulders. Twice or thrice they had to march forty miles a day. But wherever they went they had God's good work to do, having to carry to the camp on stretchers those Zulu friendlies who had been inadvertently wounded, and to attend upon them as nurses.

'Zulu Rebellion' ended by July 1906. The Indian Ambulance Corps was on active service for nearly six weeks. The Governor addressed a letter to Gandhiji specially thanking the Ambulance Corps for its services. Each member was awarded a medal especially struck for the occasion.

The Zulu Rebellion was full of new experiences and gave Gandhiji much food for thought. While marching through the hills and dales of Zululand, he often fell into deep thought. Two ideas which had been floating in his mind became fixed. First, he should aspire after a life exclusively devoted to service observing *brahmacharya*, and secondly, he must accept voluntary poverty. On his arrival at Phoenix from the front, he conveyed his resolution to Kasturbai.

Gandhiji's stay at the Phoenix Ashram was very short. Letters and telegrams asking him to proceed to the Transvaal at once had poured in, even while he was at the front. His presence in Johannesburg was essential. So he left for Johannesburg soon, leaving his family members behind at Phoenix.

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In Johannesburg Gandhiji took a small house in a distant suburb. The house faced a big stretch of empty land. There were two small bedrooms, a kitchen and an extra room. The rooms were provided with absolute minimum of furniture. There were no carpets to cover the bare deal wood boards of the floor, no curtains for the windows. There were only some yellow blinds to maintain privacy.

There was no servant in the house. The extra room was occupied by a young Indian worker. Soon the Polaks came to stay with Gandhiji.

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CHAPTER XX

THE BLACK ACT

A crisis in the life of the Indian community living in the Transvaal was imminent at that time and Gandhiji had to work in his office till late hours everyday. He rarely returned to his house before midnight. He used to tramp six miles after fifteen hours of hard work in the office to reach his place. The bus service was there but it was meant only for the whites. Some of his co-workers would tramp with him to continue discussing ways and means of dealing with the new situation. The discussions used to continue even after reaching the house. Late at night rags would be spread along the passage in his house for visitors to sleep.

On August 22, 1906, the Transvaal Government Gazette Extraordinary published a new ordinance affecting the interests of the Indian Settlers. It enjoined that every Indian "Coolie", Arab and Turk of eight years or upwards, entitled to reside in the Transvaal must register his or her name with the Registrar of Asiatics and take out a certificate of Registration. It meant noting down important marks of identification upon the applicant's person, and the finger and thumb impression. Any Indian failing to comply with the regulation before a certain date forfeited his right of residence in the Transvaal and was

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liable to be fined £ 100 or imprisoned for three months and even deported at the discretion of the Court. The certificate of registration issued to an applicant had to be produced whenever and wherever he was required to do so by any police officer. The police officers could enter private houses in order to inspect certificates. Refusal to produce the certificate or to supply such particulars or means of identification as may be prescribed by the regulations would also be held to be an offence, for which the person refusing could be fined or sent to prison summarily.

Gandhiji read this draft Ordinance in his office and took the Transvaal Government Gazette Extraordinary of August 22, 1906, home. He went up a hill near the house in the company of a friend and began to translate the draft Ordinance into Gujarati for *Indian Opinion*. He shuddered as he read the sections of the Ordinance one after another. He saw nothing in it except hatred of Indians. It seemed to him that if the Ordinance was passed and the Indians meekly accepted it, that would spell absolute ruin for the Indians in South Africa. He clearly saw that this was a question of life and death for them. He felt that even in the case of memorials and representations proving fruitless, the community must not sit with folded hands.

The next day a small meeting of the leading Indians was held. Gandhiji explained to them the Ordinance word by word. All present resolved to agitate publicly against it. Then, a deputation on behalf of the British Indian Association led by Gandhiji waited upon the Colonial Secretary, who in a formal reply vouchsafed that Government would consider its suggestions. But on September 4, 1906 the bill was introduced in the Transvaal Assembly.

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On September 11, a mass meeting of Indians was held at the Jewish Empire Theatre, Johannesburg. About 3000 delegates hailing from various parts of the Transvaal were present. Abdul Gani, Chairman of the Transvaal, presided. The most important resolution passed at this meeting referred to the bill introduced in the Transvaal Assembly, and stated that the Indians solemnly resolved not to submit to the Ordinance and to suffer all the penalties attaching to such non-submission.

Gandhiji fully explained this resolution to the meeting and he received a patient hearing. The business of the meeting was conducted in Hindi or Gujarati. For the Tamils and Telugus who did not know Hindi, there were Tamil and Telugu speakers who fully explained everything in their respective languages. The resolution was duly proposed, seconded and supported by several speakers one of whom was Sheth Haji Habib. He was a very old and experienced resident of South Africa. In his speech which was an impassioned one, he went so far as to say that "We must pass this resolution with God as witness and must never yield a cowardly submission to such degrading legislation." He then solemnly declared in the name of God that he would never submit to that law, and advised all present to do likewise. Gandhiji was taken aback by this. Ordinarily no one imports the name of God into such resolutions. Though he warmly approved of the suggestion made by Sheth Haji Habib, he felt that the people should be told clearly the meaning of a pledge in the name of God and of all its consequences. He therefore requested the President of the meeting to grant him permission to explain to the meeting the implications of Sheth Haji Habib's suggestion. The President readily granted it.

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Gandhiji then in a long speech, explained to the meeting the implications of such a pledge during which he said:

"We all believe in one and the same God, the differences of nomenclature in Hindustan and Islam notwithstanding. To pledge ourselves or to take an oath in the name of the God or with him as witness is not something to be trifled with. If having taken such an oath we violate our pledge we are guilty before God and man. Personally I hold that a man, who deliberately and intelligently takes a pledge and breaks it, forfeits his manhood. And just as a copper coin treated with mercury not only becomes valueless when detected but also makes it liable to punishment; in the same way a man, who lightly pledges his word and then breaks it, becomes a man of straw and fits himself for punishment here as well as hereafter. Sheth Haji Habib is proposing to administer an oath of a very serious character. There is no one in this meeting who can be classed as an infant or as wanting in understanding. You are all well advanced in age and have seen the world; many of you are delegates and have discharged responsibilities in a greater or lesser measure. No one present, therefore can hope to excuse himself by saying that he did not know what it was about when he took the oath.

"The Government has taken leave of all sense of decency. We would only be betraying our unworthiness and cowardice, if we cannot stake our all in the face of the conflagration which envelops us and sit watching it with folded hands. There is no doubt, therefore, that the present is a proper occasion for taking pledges. But every

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one of us must think out for himself if he has the will and the ability to pledge himself. Resolutions of this nature cannot be passed by a majority vote. Only those who take a pledge can be bound by it. This pledge must be taken with a view to produce an effect on outsiders. No one should trouble to consider what impression it might have upon the Local Government, the Imperial Government or the Government of India. Every one must only search his own heart, and if the inner voice assures him that he has the requisite strength to carry him through, then only should he pledge himself and then only will his pledge bear fruit.

"I want to give you an idea of the worst that might happen to us in the present struggle. We may have to go to jail, where we may be insulted. We may have to go hungry and suffer extreme heat or cold. Hard labour may be imposed upon us. We may be flogged by rude warders. We may be fined heavily and our property may be attached and held up to auction if there are only a few resisters left. Opulent to-day, we may be reduced to abject poverty tomorrow. We may be deported. Suffering from starvation and similar hardships in jail, some of us may fall ill and even die. In short, therefore, it is not at all impossible that we may have to endure every hardship that we can imagine. So wisdom lies in pledging ourselves on the understanding that we shall have to suffer all that and worse.

"If some one asks me when and how the struggle may end, I may say that if the entire community manfully

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stands the test, the end will be near. If many of us fall back under storm and stress, the struggle will be prolonged. But I can boldly declare, and with certainty, that so long as there is even a handful of men true to their pledge, there can only be one end to the struggle, and that is victory.

"Every one present here should fully realize his responsibility, then only pledge himself independently of others and understand that he himself must be true to his pledge even unto death, no matter what others do."

The meeting heard Gandhiji's speech word by word in perfect quiet. Other leaders too spoke. All dwelt upon their own responsibility and the responsibility of the audience. Then rose the President. He too made the situation clear. And at last, all present in the meeting, standing with upraised hands, took an oath with God as witness not to submit to the Ordinance, if it became law. The community's enthusiasm knew no bounds.

The solidarity shown by the Indian community in the meeting was kept up. Meetings were held everywhere and pledges of resistance were taken in every place. The principal topic of discussion in *Indian Opinion* now was the Black Ordinance.

At the other end, steps were taken in order to meet the local Government. A deputation waited upon Mr. Duncan, the Colonial Secretary, and told him among other things about the pledges. Sheth Haji Habib, who was a member of the deputation, said: "I cannot possibly restrain myself if any officer comes and proceeds to take my wife's finger prints. I will kill him then and there and die myself."

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The Colonial Secretary stared at Sheth's face for a while and said "Government is reconsidering the advisability of making the Ordinance applicable to women, and I can assure you at once that the clauses relating to women will be deleted. Government have understood your feeling in the matter and desire to respect it. But as for the other provisions, I am sorry to inform you that Government is and will remain adamant. General Botha wants you to agree to this after due deliberation. Government deem it to be essential to the existence of the Europeans. They will certainly consider any suggestions about details which you may make consistently with the objects of the Ordinance, and my advice to the deputation is that your interest lies in agreeing to the legislation and proposing changes only as regards the details."

The deputation withdrew after informing the Colonial Secretary that his advice notwithstanding, acquiescence in the proposed legislation was out of the question. The Indian community decided to continue its fight.

Gandhiji was, at that time, using the term "passive resistance" in describing their movement. As the struggle advanced, the phrase "passive resistance" gave rise to confusion. Gandhiji could not, however hard he tried, find out a new name and therefore he offered, through *Indian Opinion*, a nominal prize to the reader who suggested the best name for it. As a result Maganlal Gandhi who was one of the competitors, suggested the name "*Sadagraha*" meaning "firmness in a good cause," and won the prize. Gandhiji liked the word, but he felt that it did not fully represent the whole idea he wished it to connote. He therefore corrected it to "*Satyagraha*." Gandhiji explained the meaning of *Satyagraha* as follows:

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(*Satya*) — Truth implies love, and (*agraha*)— engenders firmness and so "*Satyagraha*" serves as a synonym for force, that is to say, the Force which is born of Truth and Love or Non-violence.

(The ordinary meaning of the word is *Satya*—Truth, *Agraha*— insisting on i.e. insisting on Truth)

Gandhiji further said that "Satyagraha postulates the conquest of the adversary by suffering in one's own person."

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CHAPTER XXI

DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND

The Indian movement against the Black Act started with full force in the Transvaal as the *"Satyagraha"* movement. The spirit of the community was very high. Gandhiji advised the community that in the first instance they should exhaust all appropriate constitutional remedies available to them for resisting the Black Act, such as approaching the Local Government with memorials etc. As a result the Legislative Council of the Transvaal deleted the clause affecting the women but the rest of the Ordinance was passed in the shape in which it was first drafted.

The Transvaal was yet a Crown Colony and the Imperial (British) Government was responsible for its legislation as well as its administration. Gandhiji, therefore, suggested to the community that a deputation should go to England to present its case to the Imperial Government. This suggestion was accepted. Some persons proposed that Gandhiji may go alone to England but he flatly declined. After a long discussion, the community elected H.O. Ali and Gandhiji to go to England. H.O. Ali was a member of the Transvaal British Indian Association and he had long been taking part in public affairs. He had also cultivated the art of writing to the newspapers. The deputation left for England on October 3, 1906 and reached London on

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October 20, 1906. In the steamer itself they drafted the memorial to be submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Elgin.

As soon as they reached England, they got the memorial printed to be submitted to the Secretary of State. Then they met Dadabhai Naoroji and through him the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. They placed their case before that committee and signified their intention to seek the cooperation of all the parties, as advised by Dadabhai. The committee approved of their policy. Then they met Sir Muncherjee Bhownaggree who was also of much help. He and Dadabhai advised them to secure the cooperation of some impartial and well-known Anglo-Indian to introduce the deputation to Lord Elgin. Sir Muncherjee suggested names of some persons who had good knowledge of the condition of Indians in South Africa. One of the names suggested by Sir Muncherjee was that of Sir Lepel Griffin.

Gandhiji and H.O. Ali met Sir Lepel Griffin. He was opposed to the then current political movements in India but he showed much interest in the problems of the Indians in South Africa and agreed to lead the deputation not for the sake of courtesy but for the sake of justice and righteousness of their case. He read all the papers and became familiar with the problem. Gandhiji and his colleague also interviewed other Anglo-Indians, Members of Parliament and as many others of any importance as were within their reach.

The deputation led by Sir Lepel Griffin waited upon Lord Elgin who heard everything with attention, expressed his sympathy, referred to his own difficulties and yet promised to

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do all he could in the matter. The same deputation met Mr. Morley who also declared his sympathy.

Sir William Wedderburn was instrumental in calling a meeting of the committee of the House of Commons for Indian Affairs in the drawing-room of the House. Gandhiji and H.O. Ali placed their case before them too as best as they could. They met Mr. Redmond, the then leader of the Irish party. In short, they met as many Members of Parliament as they could, irres-pective of the party to which they belonged. But according to English customs, men belonging to a certain party and holding certain views only could join them while there were many others who had nothing to do with the matter. Gandhiji, therefore, decided to organize a standing committee on which all these could come together. Men of all parties liked this idea.

The burden of carrying on the work of an institution chiefly falls upon its Secretary. The Secretary should be such, that not only should he have full faith in the aims and objects of the institution but he should be able to devote nearly all his time to the achievement of these aims. He should also have the capa-city to carry on his work efficiently. Mr. L. W. Ritch who belonged to South Africa and had worked as an articled trainee under Gandhiji in Johannesburg, was at that time a student for the bar in London. He satisfied all the requirements mentioned above for the Secretary of an institution. He was also desirous of taking up the work. So a Standing Committee for watching over the interest of South Africa was formed with the name of "The South Africa British Indian Committee". Mr. Ritch became its Secretary.

After a stay of about six weeks in England, Gandhiji and H.O. Ali returned to South Africa. When they reached Madeira,

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they received a cablegram from Mr. Ritch to the effect that Lord Elgin had declared tha: he was unable, without further conside-ration, to advise His Majesty the King that the Transvaal Asiatic Ordinance should be brought into operation.

The steamer took about a fortnight to reach Cape Town from Madeira. Gandhiji and his colleague had quite a good time during this period building many castles in the air about the coming redress of many more of their grievances. But their joy was short lived. As soon as they reached Johannesburg, they saw that they had overrated the cablegram received by them in Madeira. Mr. Ritch who had sent it was not responsible for it. He cabled only what he had heard about the measure being disallowed. In 1906, the Transvaal was only a Crown Colony. Crown Colonies used to be represented in England by agents one of whose duties was to instruct the Secretary of State for the Colonies in all matters affecting Colonial interests. The Transvaal was then represented by Sir Richard Solomon, the noted lawyer of South Africa. Lord Elgin had disallowed the Black Act in consultation with him.

Responsible Government was to be conferred on the Transvaal Govt. in 1907. Lord Elgin had therefore assured Sir Richard that if an identical legislation was passed by the Transvaal legislature constituted after the grant of responsible government, it would not be refused the royal assent. Sir Richard Solomon had no reason to object to such an arrangement.

On December 6, 1906, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State Colonies were granted self-government. The first session of the Transvaal Parliament passed an Act which was

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an exact copy of the 1906 Ordinance. It was rushed through all its stages at a single sitting on March 21, 1907. The Act received the royal assent in May 1907. The Act was to take effect from July 1, 1907 and the Indians were required to register under it by July 31, 1907.

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CHAPTER XXII

SATYAGRAHA

Birth of Sathyagraha

Gandhiji, in welcoming the challenge, said "We must congratulate the Transvaal Government for the courage of their convictions. If we are conscious of the mark of slavery the Act will put on us, we will meet it and refuse to submit to it. The brave rulers, who know the value of action rather than of any speech, can only respond to bravery and practical action".

The Transvaal Government, on the one side, was preparing to throw the dogs' collar on the Indians' necks while, on the other side, the Indians were getting ready to resist it. Gandhiji wrote letters to friends in England and in India, keeping them informed of the new situation. Dadabhai Naoroji regularly got a weekly letter from Gandhiji. But as Gandhiji says "a Satyagraha struggle depends but little upon help from outside, and it is only internal remedies that are effective. The leaders' time was, therefore, chiefly taken up with the endeavours to keep all the elements of the community up to the mark."

The Transvaal British Indian Association had a large membership. All the members of this Association were not pledged to resist the Black Act through Satyagraha. So a new body named the "Passive Resistance Association" was started.

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Numerous members joined this new Association. Meetings were held in every place, where the situation was explained, the oath was administered afresh and the spirit of the community was found to be as high as ever.

The Government planned to carry out registration district by district. The permit offices were opened, one after another, in all Indian localities—Germiston, Pietersburg, Krugersdorp, Volksrust, Johannesburg and elsewhere. The Indian pickets went from house to house and explained to the people the meaning of the registration. The whole of Pretoria was placarded with posters:

"Boycott the permit office —By going to gaol we do not resist but suffer for our common good and self respect—Loyalty to the King demands loyalty to the King of Kings—Indians, be free."

The Indian community had also decided openly to picket each and every office. The volunteers were posted on the roads leading thereto. They warned weak-kneed Indians against the trap laid for them. Volunteers were provided with badges and were strictly instructed not to be impolite to any Indian taking out a permit. They must ask his name, but if he refused to give it, they should not on any account be rude or violent. The volunteers were to hand a printed paper to every Indian going to the permit office detailing the injuries which submission to the Black Act would involve and explain what was written in it. The volunteers were expected to take the thrashing from the police peacefully and to surrender gladly if the police arrested them. Every party of pickets had a captain. All who

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were above the age of twelve could be enrolled as pickets. But no one was taken who was unknown to the local workers.

The month of July was gradually coming to an end. A meeting of the Indians had been called at Pretoria, the capital of Transvaal on July 31, the last day for registration. Delegates from all other places also had been invited to attend. The entire Indian population in the Transvaal was around 13000 of whom over 10000 lived in Johannesburg and Pretoria. Delegates numbering 2000 from all over the Transvaal, representing 13000 Indians met on the open ground of a mosque to register their protest. There was a small platform with a table and a few chairs on it to accommodate the Chairman, the speaker and some prominent persons, the audience sitting on the ground. The Acting Chairman of the Transvaal British Indian Association, Yusuf Ismail Mian presided.

Mr. William Hosken who was sent by General Botha to address the meeting said: "The Indians have done all they could and have acquitted themselves like men. But now that their opposition has failed, and the law has been passed, the community must prove their loyalty and love of peace by submitting to it. General Smuts will carefully look into any representation you make suggesting minor changes in the regulations framed in virtue of Registration Act. He entertains a feeling of respect for you and understands your sentiments, but he says 'He is helpless. All the Europeans in the Transvaal unanimously ask for such law and that he himself is convinced of the necessity for it.' My own advice to you is that you should comply with the General's message. I know that the Transvaal Government is firm regarding this law. To resist it will be to

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dash our head against a wall. I wish that your community may not be ruined in fruitless opposition or invite needless suffering on their heads." Mr. Hosken retired amidst cheers.

Gandhiji translated the speech of Mr. Hosken to the meeting word by word, and further put the audience on guard on his own behalf. It was now time for the Indian speakers to address the meeting. One of these speakers was Ahmad Muhammad Kachhalia. Gandhiji knew him only as a client and as an interpreter. He had a working knowledge of English, which he had improved by practice when he took his friends to English lawyers. He acted as an interpreter but interpretership was not a profession with him. He worked as an interpreter only as a friend. In the beginning he used to hawk piece goods; then to trade on a small scale in partnership with his brother. He was a Surti Meman and enjoyed great reputation in his class. His knowledge of Gujarati was also limited but in this too he had greatly advanced by experience. He had such sharp intelligence that he easily grasped anything that was put to him. He solved legal difficulties with such facility that would often astonish Gandhiji. He would not hesitate to argue law even with lawyers, and very often his arguments were worthy of consideration for them.

Gandhiji says: "That he had never, either in India or in South Africa, come across a man who could surpass Mr Kachhalia in courage and steadfastness. He had sacrificed his all for the community's sake. He was always a man of his word. He was a strict orthodox Musalman, being one of the trustees of the Surti Meman mosque. But at the same time he looked upon Hindus and Musalmans with an equal eye. Perfectly fearless

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and impartial as he was, he never hesitated to point out their faults to Hindus as well as Musalmans whenever he found it necessary. His simplicity and humility were worthy of imitation."

Addressing the gathering, Mr Kachhalia in a short but powerful speech, said, "Every Indian knows what the Black Act is and what it implies. I have heard Mr Hosken attentively, and so you have. His speech has only confirmed me in my resolution. We know how powerful the Transvaal Government is. But it cannot do anything more than enact such a law. It will cast us into prison, confiscate our property, deport us or hang us. All this we will bear cheerfully, but we cannot simply put up with this law."

Saying this Mr Kachhalia became deeply moved. His face reddened, the veins on his neck and on the head were swollen with the blood coursing rapidly through them and his body was shaking, and he thundered forth: "I swear in the name of God that I will be hanged but I will not submit to this law, and I hope that every one present will do likewise." So saying he took his seat.

The meeting cheered him as he spoke. There were other spirited speeches too. The volunteers in every place worked with boundless enthusiasm and were ever alert and wide awake in the performance of their duties. Some volunteers were arrested once on a charge of obstructing the public traffic. As non-cooperation did not form a part of the Satyagraha struggle, defence could be made in Courts. The volunteers were declared innocent and acquitted by the Court. This exalted their spirit further.

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The Government extended the time limit by one month; that too was extended by another month and finally the last date fixed for the purpose was November 30, 1907. General Smuts had declared that "If resistance of Indians leads to unpleasant results, they will have only themselves and their leaders to blame." He warned that any Indian who had not registered himself after the date of expiry of the registration, would be put across the border. No trade licences would be issued unless registration took place, and the result would be that all Indian stores would be closed. "The Government have made up their mind to make this a white man's country, and however difficult the task be before us in this direction, we will have to put our foot down and would keep it there."

No threats, however, could induce the Indians and the Chinese to register themselves. The result was that on November 30, 1907, only 511 persons out of a population of 13000 had submitted to registration.

When the Asiatic department found that notwithstanding all their exertions, they could not get even five percent of the Indian population to register, they decided to arrest some one. In Germiston, there lived many Indians, one of whom was Pandit Rama Sundara, who enjoyed some reputation among the people there. He had delivered a number of spirited speeches in various places. Someone suggested to the Asiatic Department that many Indians there would take permits if Rama Sundara was arrested. This was a tempting suggestion. So Rama Sundara was arrested and he was sentenced to a month's simple imprisonment, and kept in a separate cell in the European ward in Johannesburg gaol. People were allowed to meet him freely. He was permitted to receive food from

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outside and was entertained every day with delicacies prepared on behalf of the community. He was provided with everything he wanted. The day on which he was sentenced was celebrated with great *éclat*. There was no trace of depression, on the other hand there was exultation and rejoicing. Hundreds were ready to go to jail. The officers of the Asiatic Department were disappointed in their hope that the arrest of Rama Sundara would result in many Indians taking the permits.

In spite of all the attention showered by the jail authorities as well as by the community, jail life appeared irksome to Rama Sundara and he bid a final good-bye to the Transvaal and to the *satyagraha* movement. The Government failed to reap any advantage from Rama Sundara's arrest. On the other hand, they observed that the spirit of the Indian community was rising rapidly. The officers of the Asiatic Department were diligent readers of *Indian Opinion* which was an open book to gauge the strength and the weakness of the Indian community. The paper did not maintain any secrecy. The Transvaal Government was getting every piece of information about the Indian movement correctly through the Asiatic Department.

General Smuts, Premier of the Transvaal, felt that most of the opposition to registration was "engineered" by Gandhiji and his "henchmen" and he decided to prosecute the leaders and see the effect it creates in the minds of others. Orders were issued to arrest Gandhiji and twenty-four others.

On Friday morning, December 27, 1907 (during the Christmas week) Gandhiji received a telephone message from the acting commissioner of police of the Transvaal asking him to call at Marlborough House. Upon arriving there, Gandhiji

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was informed of the arrest order. Gandhiji promised that he and all the twenty-four others named in the order (which included the name of Mr. Quinn, the leader of the Chinese) would appear before the Magistrate at ten next morning as per the order. The commissioner accepted his word. As promised, Gandhiji, with his twenty-four colleagues, attended the Magistrate's Court exactly at 10 a.m. on 28th December 1907.

The Magistrate conducted each case separately. Everyone was asked whether he held the duly issued registration certificate. Everyone replied in the negative. All of them were promptly arrested and charged that they were in the Transvaal without a registration certificate issued under the Act.

M.K. Gandhi, Attorney, Barrister-at-law of the Inner Temple, Hon. Secretary of the British Indian Association of the Transvaal, was the first of the accused to be dealt with.

Superintendent of Police, Vernon said that the accused was an Asiatic, over sixteen years of age, and resident in the Transvaal. And that morning he called upon Gandhi to produce his registration certificate, but the latter failed to do so and said he had not got one. Gandhiji went into the witness-box prepared to make a statement. He wished to say why he had not submitted to the Registration Act.

Mr. Jordan (the magistrate): I don't think that has anything to do with it. The law is there, and you have disobeyed it. I don't want any political speech made.

Gandhi : I don't want to make any political speech.

Jordan : The question is, have you registered or not? If you have not registered, there is an end of the case.

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If you have any explanation to offer as regards the order I am going to make, that is another story. There is the law, which has been passed by the Transvaal legislature and sanctioned by the Imperial Government. All I have to do and all I can do is to administer that law as it stands.

Gandhi : I do not wish to give any evidence in extenuation and I know that legally I cannot give any evidence at all.

Jordan : All that I have to deal with is legal evidence. What you want to say, I suppose, is that you do not approve of the law and you conscientiously resist it.

Gandhi : That is perfectly true.

Jordan : I will take the evidence, if you say you conscientiously object to the law.

Gandhiji was proceeding to State when he came to the Transvaal and other things when Mr. Jordan said he did not see how that affected the case. Gandhiji asked the indulgence of the court for five minutes but Mr. Jordan refused to grant it. "You have defied the law" he bluntly said.

Gandhiji said : Very well, Sir, then I have nothing to say.

Mr. Jordan, in giving his decision, said that the Government was extremely lenient and yet it appeared that none of these people had registered. He had no wish to be harsh in the matter and he did not intend to adopt the suggestion of the prosecutor in regard to the forty-eight hours' notice to quit. Mr. Jordan remarked : "When an individual set himself up against the will of the State, the State was stronger than the individual, and the individual suffered, and not the State."

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Gandhiji, interrupting the magistrate, asked him to make the order for forty-eight hours, or for even a shorter period. The magistrate angrily said, "If that is the case, I would be the last person to disappoint you. Leave the Transvaal within forty-eight hours. That is my order."

One by one, the other accused were tried. Gandhiji had deliberately advised all his colleagues to plead not guilty, so that the court could hear from their lips what they had to say. All the accused were ordered to leave the Transvaal within two days in some cases, and seven or fourteen days in others.

After the conclusion of the court proceedings, Gandhiji addressed a large crowd of Indians, Chinese and Europeans on the open space of the Government Square. He said : "We are going on with the struggle, no matter what happens to me or to any one else. If God's message came to me that I had erred, I would be the first to acknowledge my fault and beg your forgiveness. But I do not think that I would ever receive that message. It is better to leave the colony than lose our self-respect and honour. This is a religious struggle and we shall fight to the bitter end."

On January 10, 1908 Gandhiji and the twenty-four others attended the court and pleaded guilty to the charge of disobeying the order to leave the colony within the time limit. The magistrate sentenced Gandhiji to two months simple imprisonment. He was immediately removed from the court and taken in the police van to Johannesburg jail. This was his first prison experience.

As soon as Gandhiji was removed from the court, the Indians took out a procession with black flags. The police fell

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upon them and some were flogged. The Indians continued the struggle. On January 14, Thambi Naidu, chief picket and a brave *satyagrahi*, and Mr. Quinn, the president of the Chinese Association joined Gandhiji in the jail. By January 29, 155 *satyagrahis* — many of whom were hawkers — hailing from different parts of India and belonging to different castes and creeds courted imprisonment.

In South Africa only two classes of convicts were recognized, the whites and the blacks. Gandhiji and his associates were first kept in a Negro ward which could accommodate only fifty-one prisoners. When the number rose, the jail governor pitched tents outside to accommodate the prisoners. The prisoners undergoing simple imprisonment had the right to wear their private clothing. But the *satyagrahis* decided to put on the prison garbs and to obey all jail regulations which did not wound their religious feelings or self-respect. Gandhiji set an example by putting on clothes assigned to Negro convicts.

As regards the diet also, they were adhering to the jail regulations but within a fortnight Gandhiji succeeded in bringing about some change in the jail diet. He also got permission for the Indians to cook their own food. Gandhiji stopped taking tea and finished his last meal before sunset. Every morning Gandhiji along with his friends, went through voluntary drill.

The jail governor allowed the *satyagrahis* the use of a table and writing material. In the morning he used to read the Gita, at noon mostly the Koran in English translation. In the evening he taught the Bible to a Chinese Christian, who wanted to learn English.

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CHAPTER XXIII

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT

There were sharp protests in India and England against the imprisonment of the passive resistors. General Smuts held constant cabinet meetings and after a fortnight he sent Mr. Albert Cartwright the broad minded editor of *Transvaal Leader*, to see Gandhiji with the terms of a settlement. The draft proposed that the Indians should register voluntarily, and not under the law, and the details to be entered in the certificates should be settled by the Government with the Indian Community. It was also proposed that if the majority of the Indians underwent voluntary registration, the Government should repeal the Black Act and take steps to legalize the voluntary registration. Gandhiji who was given a blank cheque by his lieutenants, suggested certain alterations in the draft but General Smuts was not in a mood to listen. Gandhiji clearly told Mr. Cartwright that he could not sign it without consulting his fellow-prisoners, even if he took the consent of the Indians outside prison for granted.

Mr. Cartwright said "I have approved of this draft myself and I can assure you that if you all undergo re-registration, the Black Act is bound to be repealed." Mr. Cartwright, however, promised to place Gandhiji's suggestion for the changes before General Smuts.

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Gandhiji then consulted his fellow-prisoners. They too did not like the language of the draft proposal by General Smuts but agreed to the settlement if General Smuts would accept the amendments suggested by Gandhiji.

New comers to jail had brought a message from the leaders outside that Gandhiji should accept any suitable compromise without waiting for their consent, so Gandhiji got Leuing Quinn and Thambi Naidoo to sign the draft and after signing it himself, handed it to Mr. Cartwright.

After two days, on January 30, 1908, Mr. Vernon, the Superintendent of Police, Johannesburg took Gandhiji to Pretoria to meet General Smuts. He congratulated Gandhiji on the Indian community having remained firm even after imprisonment and said: "I could never entertain a dislike for your people. You know I too am a barrister. I had some Indian fellow students in my time. But I must do my duty. The Europeans want this law, and you will agree with me that these are mostly not Boers but Englishmen. I accept the alteration you have made in the draft. I have consulted General Botha also and I assure you that I will repeal the Asiatic Act as soon as most of you have undergone the voluntary registration. When the bill legalizing such registration is drafted, I will send you a copy for your criticism. I do not wish there should be any recurrence of the trouble, and I wish to respect the feelings of your people."

So saying General Smuts rose. Gandhiji asked him, "Where am I to go ? And what about the other prisoners."

The General laughed and said "you are free this very moment. I am phoning to the prison officials to release the

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other prisoners tomorrow morning. But I must advise you not to go in for many meetings or demonstrations, as in that case Government will find itself in an awkward position."

Gandhiji replied, "you may rest assured that there will be not a single meeting simply for the sake of it. But I will certainly have to hold meetings in order to explain to the community how the settlement was effected, what is its nature and scope, and how it has added to our responsibilities."

"Of such meetings" said General Smuts, "You may have as many as you please. It is sufficient that you have understood what I desire in the matter."

It was then seven o'clock in the evening. Gandhiji had not a single farthing in his pocket. The secretary of General Smuts gave him the railway fare to Johannesburg. There was no need to stop in Pretoria and announce the settlement to the Indians there. The leaders were all in Johannesburg which was their headquarters. There was, at that hour, only one more train for Johannesburg. Gandhiji was able to catch it. He reached Johannesburg at about 9 p.m. and he went direct to the Chairman, Sheth Yusuf Mian. It was a pleasant surprise for him and others to find Gandhiji unaccompanied by a warder. Gandhiji told him about the developments and his talk with General Smuts and suggested that a meeting should be called at once with such attendance as was possible at a very short notice. The Chairman and other friends agreed with him. As most of the Indians lived at close quarters, it was not difficult to send round notice of the proposed meeting. The Chairman's house was near the mosque and meetings were usually held on the grounds of the mosque. There was not much to be

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done by way of arrangement for the meeting. It was enough to have one light on the platform. The meeting was held that very night after 11 p.m. The gathering was nearly a thousand strong despite the shortness of the notice and the late hour.

Before the meeting was held, Gandhiji had explained the terms of the settlement to the leaders present. A few opposed the settlement. But all of them understood the situation after hearing Gandhiji's point. Still every one was troubled by one doubt, "What if General Smuts broke faith with us? The Black Act might not be enforced but it would always hang over our heads like Damocles' sword. If, in the meanwhile, we registered voluntarily, we would have knowingly played into the adversary's hands, and surrendered the most powerful weapon in our possession for resisting the Act. The right order for the settlement was, that the Act should be repealed first and then we should be called upon to register voluntarily."

Gandhiji felt proud of the keen common sense and high courage of those who advanced this argument. In answer to this argument he observed: "It is an excellent argument and deserves serious consideration. There would be nothing like it, if we registered voluntarily only after the Act was repealed. But then it would not be in the nature of a compromise. Compromise means that both the parties make large concessions on all points except where a principle is involved. Our principle is, that we would not submit to the Black Act, and we must adhere to this principle at all costs. The principle with the Government is, that in order to prevent the illegal entry of Indians into the Transvaal, it must get many Indians to take out non-transferable permits with marks of identification and

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thus set the suspicions of the Europeans at rest and allay all their fears. The Government can never give it up on their part. We have admitted this principle of the Government by our conduct up to date, and therefore even if we feel like resisting it we may not do so until we find fresh grounds for such a departure. When our opponents recognize our humility and sense of justice, they would give up or at least mitigate their opposition."

Gandhiji was thus able to satisfy fully the one or two of the small groups which had opposed the settlement. Every leader understood the position.

Gandhiji then explained all the terms of the settlement to the meeting and said:

"The responsibility of the community is largely enhanced by this settlement. We must register voluntarily in order to show that we do not intend to bring a single Indian into the Transvaal surreptitiously or by fraud. If any one of us fails to register, he will not be punished at present; but that can only mean that the community does not accept the settlement. It is necessary, indeed, that you must here raise your hands as a mark of your agreeing to the settlement, but that is not enough. As soon as the arrangements for fresh registration are completed, every one of us who raises his hand should take out a certificate of registration at once, and just as many of you had volunteered before in order to explain to our compatriots why they should not register, even so should you now come forward to explain to the community why they must register. And it is only when we have thus worthily fulfilled our part that we shall reap the real fruit of our victory."

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As soon as Gandhiji finished his speech a Pathan friend stood up and greeted him with a volley of questions. The Pathan, Mir Alam by name, was an old client of Gandhiji and he used to seek his advice in all his affairs. He was fully six feet in height and of a large and powerful build. He first asked Gandhiji:

"Shall we have to give ten finger-prints under the settlement?"

Gandhiji replied :"Yes and no. My own view of the matter is, that all of us should give digit impressions without the least hesitation. But those, who have any conscientious objection to giving them or think that it would be derogatory to their self-respect, will not be obliged to give those impressions."

Pathan : "What will you do yourself ?"

Gandhiji : "I have decided to give ten finger-prints. It may not be proper for me not to give them myself while advising others to do so."

Pathan : "You were writing a good deal about the ten finger-prints. It was you who told us that they were required only from criminals. It was you who said that the struggle centred round the finger-prints. How does all that fit in with your attitude to-day?"

Gandhiji : "Even now I fully adhere to everything that I have written before about finger-prints. Even now I say that in India finger-prints are required from criminal tribes.

"I have said before and say even now, that it would be a sin in virtue of the Black Act to give even our

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signatures not to talk of finger-prints. But circumstances have now changed. I say with all the force at my command, that what would have been a crime against the people yesterday, is, in the altered circumstances of today, the hallmark of a gentleman.

"If you require me to salute you by force and if I submit to you, I will have demeaned myself in the eyes of the public and in your eyes as well as in my own. But if I, of my own accord, salute you as a brother or fellow-man, that evinces my humility and gentlemanliness, and it will be counted to me as righteousness before the Great White Throne. That is how I advise the community to give the finger-prints."

Pathan : "We have heard that you have betrayed the community and sold it to General Smuts for 15,000 pounds. I will never give the finger-prints nor allow others to do so. I swear with Allah as my witness, that I will kill the man who takes the lead in applying for registration."

Gandhiji : "I can understand the feelings of Pathan friends. I am sure that no one else believes me to be capable of selling the community. I have already said that finger-prints will not be demanded from those who have sworn not to give them. I will render all possible help to any Pathan or other who wishes to register without giving finger-prints, and I assure him that he will get the certificate all right, without violence being done to his conscience. I must con-

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fess, however, that I do not like the threat of death which the friend has held out. I also believe that one may not, swear to kill another in the name of the Most High. I therefore take it that it is only in a momentary fit of passion that this friend has taken the oath. However that may be, whether or not he carries out his threat, as the principal party responsible for this settlement and as a servant of the community, it is my clear duty to take the lead in giving finger-prints, and I pray to God that He graciously permit me so to do. Death is the appointed end of all life. To die by the hand of a brother, rather by disease or in such other way, cannot be for me a matter for sorrow. And if even in such a case I am free from the thoughts of anger or hatred against my assailant, I know that that will redound to my eternal welfare, and even the assailant will later on realize my perfect innocence.

"There were only a few Pathans living in the Transvaal, their total number hardly exceeding fifty. Some of them had come over as soldiers during the Boer War and they had settled in the country like many other Indian as well as European soldiers. Some of them were even Gandhiji's clients, and he was familiar with them otherwise too. The Pathans were an unsophisticated and credulous race. Brave they were as a matter of course. To kill and get killed was an ordinary thing in their eyes, and if they were angry with any one, they would thrash him and sometimes even kill him. And in this matter they were no

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respecters of persons. They would behave even to a blood-brother in an identical manner. Even though there were very few of them in the Transvaal, there would be a free fight whenever they quarrelled among themselves, and in such cases Gandhiji had often to play the part of a peacemaker. A Pathan's anger becomes particularly uncontrollable when he considered someone to be a traitor."

These Pathans fully participated in the Satyagraha struggle; none of them had submitted to the Black Act. It was an easy thing to mislead them. It was quite possible to create a misunderstanding in their minds about the finger-prints and thus to inflame them. A single suggestion, viz., why should Gandhiji now ask them to give finger-prints if he was not corrupt, was enough to poison the Pathans' ears.

Again there was another party in the Transvaal which comprised such Indians as had entered the Transvaal surreptitiously without a permit or were interested in bringing others there secretly either without a permit at all or with a false permit. This party knew that the settlement would be detrimental to their interest. None had to produce his permit so long as the struggle lasted, and therefore this group could carry on their trade without fear and easily avoid going to jail during the struggle. The longer the struggle was protracted, the better for them. It was possible that this group could have instigated the Pathans. These may be reasons as to why the Pathans got excited all of a sudden and became against Gandhiji.

The questions raised by the Pathan Mir Alam in the meeting, did not, however, have any impression on the meeting. Gandhiji

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had asked the meeting to vote on the settlement. The president and other leaders were firm. After the clarification made by Gandhiji on the questions raised by the Pathan, the president also made a speech explaining the nature of the settlement and dwelling upon the necessity for endorsing it, and then he proceeded to ascertain the sense of the meeting, which unanimously ratified the settlement with the exception of a couple of Pathans present.

After the meeting Gandhiji reached home at 3 a.m. Sleep was out of question for him as he had to rise early and go to the jail to get the others released. He reached the jail at 7 a.m. The Superintendent had received the necessary orders on the phone, and he was waiting for Gandhiji. All the *Satyagrahi* prisoners were released in the course of one hour. The Chairman, Sheth Yusuf Mian and other Indians were present to welcome them. From jail all proceeded to the place of meeting held at the previous midnight. A second meeting was now held there. That day and a couple of subsequent days were passed in feasting and educating the community on the settlement. With the lapse of time, if on the one hand the implications of the settlement became clearer, misunderstandings on the other hand also began to thicken.

Gandhiji says: "Then again the letter we had written to General Smuts was open to misrepresentation. The difficulty I experienced in meeting the various objections which were thus raised was infinitely greater than what I had felt while the struggle was actually in progress. In the days of struggle, the only difficulty felt cropped up in our relations with the adversary, and these were always easily overcome, for then all internecine

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strife and internal discord were either suspended altogether or at least they lost their prominence in face of the common danger. But when the fight was over, internal jealousies were again fully in play. And in a democratic body, one has to provide satisfactory answers for the questions of every one, big and small. Even in offering battle to the adversary one does not learn the valuable lessons which come home to oneself while thus dealing with misunderstandings and strivings between friends. There is a sort of intoxication and exultation in fighting the adversary. But misunderstandings and differences between friends are rare phenomena and are therefore all the more painful. Yet it is only on such occasions that one's mettle is put to a real test. Such has been my experience without any exception, and I believe that it is only when passing through such ordeals that I have made the largest gains in things of the spirit. Many, who had not understood the real nature of the struggle while it was still going on, understood it fully in course of and after the settlement. Serious opposition was confined to the Pathans and did not travel beyond them."

The Registrar of Asiatics was soon ready to issue registration certificates under the new voluntary arrangements. The form of the certificates was altogether changed, and had been settled in consultation with *Satyagrahis*.

On the morning of February 10, 1908 some of the *Satyagrahis* got ready to go and take out certificates of registration. The supreme necessity of getting through the registration business with all possible expedition had been fully impressed on the community and it had been agreed that the leaders should be the first to take out certificates on the first day, with a view to break down shyness and to see if the officers concerned

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discharged their duties with courtesy and also generally to have an eye over all the arrangements.

When Gandhiji reached his office, which was also the office of the Satyagraha Association, he found Mir Alam and his companions standing outside his office premises. For the first time Gandhiji saw Mir Alam outside his office instead of inside and for the first time he refrained from saluting Gandhiji. Gandhiji himself saluted him first and he saluted him in return. As usual Gandhiji asked him "How do you do" and he said he was all right. But he did not, on that day, wear his usual smile on the face. Gandhiji noticed his angry eyes and took a mental note of the fact and thought that something was going to happen. Silently he entered his office. Soon the chairman Mr. Yusuf Mian and other friends arrived and all of them set out for the Asiatic Office. Mir Alam and his companions followed them.

The Registration Office was at Von Brandis Square, less than a mile away from Gandhiji's office. On their way to it, he and his friends had to pass through high roads. As they were going along Von Brandis Street, outside the premises of Messrs Arnot and Gibson, not more than three minutes walk from the Registration Office, Mir Alam accosted Gandhiji and asked him, "Where are you going?"

Gandhiji replied: "I propose to take out a certificate of registration giving the ten finger-prints. If you will go with me, I will first get you a certificate, with an impression only of the two thumbs, and then I will take one for myself, giving the finger prints."

Gandhiji had scarcely finished the last sentence when a heavy cudgel blow descended on his head from behind. He at

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once fainted with the words "He Rama"(O God) on his lips, lay prostrate on the ground and had no notion of what followed.

But Mir Alam and his companions gave Gandhiji more blows and kicks, some of which were warded off by Yusuf Mian and Thambi Naidoo with the result that they too became a target for attack in their turn. The noise attracted some European passers-by to the scene. Mir Alam and his companions fled but were caught by the Europeans. The police arrived in the meanwhile and took them in custody.

Gandhiji was picked up and carried into Mr. J. C. Gibson's private office. When he regained consciousness, he saw Mr. Doke bending over him. "How do you feel?" asked Mr. Doke.[1]

"I am all right but there is pain in the teeth and the ribs" replied Gandhiji and asked "Where is Mir Alam?"

Rev Doke : "He has been arrested along with the rest".

Gandhiji : "They should be released."

Rev Doke : "That is all very well. But here you are in a stranger's office with your lip and cheek badly lacerated. The Police are ready to take you to the hospital, but if you will go to my place, Mrs. Doke and I will minister to your comforts as best as we can."

Gandhiji : "Yes. Please take me to your place. Thank the Police for their offer but tell them that I prefer to go with you"

1. Rev. Joseph Doke. Only a year back Doke had come to know Gandhiji. They soon became good friends. Doke openly helped the Indians. Once he had acted as the editor of Indian Opinion. He was the first to write a biography of Gandhiji in 1909.

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Mr Chamney, the Registrar of Asiatics too arrived there by this time. Gandhiji was taken in a carriage to Rev. Doke's residence in Smit Street and a doctor was called in. Meanwhile Gandhiji said to Mr Chamney "I wished to come to your office, give ten finger-prints and take out the first certificate of registration, but God willed it otherwise. However I have now to request you to bring the papers and allow me to register at once, I hope that you will not let any one else register before me."

"Where is the hurry about it ? asked Mr. Chamney. 'The doctor will be here soon. You please rest yourself and all will be well. I will issue certificates to others but keep your name at the head of the list."

"Not so" said Gandhiji. "I am pledged to take out the first certificate if I am alive and if it is acceptable to God. It is therefore that I insist upon papers to be brought here and now."

Upon this Mr. Chamney went away to bring the papers.

The second thing that Gandhiji did immediately was to wire to the Attorney-General that he did not hold Mir Alam and others guilty for the assault committed up on him, that in any case he did not wish them to be prosecuted and hoped that they would be discharged for his sake.

But the Europeans of Johannesberg addressed a strong letter to the Attorney-General saying that whatever views Gandhiji might hold as regards the punishment of criminals, they could not be given effect to in South Africa. Gandhiji himself might not take any steps, but the assault was committed not in a private place but on the high road and was a public offence. Several Englishmen too were in a position to tender

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evidence. The letter of the Europeans therefore insisted that the offenders must be prosecuted. Upon this the Attorney-General re-arrested Mir Alam and one of his companions and they were sentenced to three months hard labour. Of course Gandhiji was not summoned as a witness.

Dr. Thivaites came in while Mr. Chamney was away. He examined Gandhiji and stitched up the wounds in his cheek and on the upper lip. He prescribed some medicine to be applied to the ribs and enjoined silence up on him so long as the stitches were not removed. He also restricted Gandhiji's diet to liquids only. The Doctor said that none of the injuries was serious that Gandhiji should be able to leave his bed and take up his ordinary activities in a week but that he should be careful not to undertake much physical strain for two months more. So saying the doctor left.

Mr. Chamney returned soon with the papers and Gandhiji gave his finger-prints but not without pain. He then saw that tears stood in Mr. Chamney's eyes. Gandhiji had often to write bitterly against him but he realized now how man's heart may be softened by events.

Gandhiji then wrote a short note as follows addressed to the community through the Chairman and sent it for publication.

"I am well in the brotherly and sisterly hands of Mr. and Mrs. Doke. I hope to take up my duty shortly.

"Those who have committed the act did not know what they were doing. They thought that I was doing what was wrong. They have had their redress in the only manner they know. I therefore request that no steps be taken against them.

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"Seeing that the assault was committed by a Musalman or Musalmans, the Hindus might probably feel hurt. If so they would put themselves in the wrong before the world and their Maker. Rather let the blood split today cement the two communities indissolubly, such is my heartfelt prayer. May God grant it.

"Assault or no assault; my advice remains the same. The large majority of Asiatics ought to give finger-prints. Those who have real conscientious scruples will be exempted by the Government. To ask for more would be to show ourselves as children.

"The spirit of *satyagraha* rightly understood should make the people fear none and nothing but God. No cowardly fear therefore should deter the vast majority of sober-minded Indians from doing their duty. The promise of repeal of the Act against voluntary registration having been given, it is the sacred duty of every good Indian to help the Government and the Colony to the uttermost."

Mr. Doke and his good wife were anxious that Gandhiji should be perfectly at rest and peaceful, and were therefore pained to witness his mental activity after the assault. They were afraid that it might react in a manner prejudicial to his health. They, therefore, removed all persons from near his bed, and asked him not to write or do anything. Gandhiji then made a request to them in writing:

"In order that I might lie down quietly, your daughter Olive should sing for me, my favourite English hymn, 'Lead, Kindly light'..."

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Olive who was then a little girl rendered the hymn, in a low tone and melodious voice. The whole atmosphere became holy and pure providing the required peace and comfort to Gandhiji.

About ten days afterwards, Gandhiji recovered enough strength to move about fairly well, and he took leave of the godly family of Mr.& Mrs. Doke. The parting was a great wrench to Gandhiji no less than to the Dokes.

When Gandhiji was assaulted in Johannesburg, his family lived in Phoenix. Naturally all the members of his family were anxious about him. It was therefore necessary for Gandhiji to go to Phoenix Settlement to meet his family, and to know about the developments in the Settlement (Ashram). He had received a sheaf of correspondence addressed to *Indian Opinion* in which adverse criticism was passed on the settlement. He noticed that the settlement had been grossly misunderstood. An urgent visit to Durban became necessary for Gandhiji to remove the misunderstandings prevalent there.

Another point also needs mention here. Although the Satyagraha struggle was at that time confined to the Transvaal only, it was not a mere local affair. The Indians in the Transvaal were really fighting the battle on behalf of all the Indians in South Africa. The Natal Indians felt that they should express their solidarity with the Transvaal Indians in their struggle. A public meeting of the Indians had been called in Durban for this purpose. Gandhiji decided to attend this meeting and educate the Natal Indians about the tenet of *Satyagraha*, and to proceed to phoenix after finishing all urgent business in Durban.

Some friends warned Gandhiji that he might be attacked at the meeting and advised him either not to attend the

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meeting at all or at least take necessary steps for defending himself. But Gandhiji took the stand that if a servant when called by his master fails to responds through fear, he forfeits his title to the name of servant. Nor does he deserve the name if he is afraid of the master's punishment. Service of the public for service's sake is like walking on the sword's edge. If a servant is ready enough for praise he may not flee in the face of blame.

He therefore presented himself at the meeting at the appointed time, 8 o'clock in the evening. He explained to the meeting how the settlement with General Smuts had been effected, and also answered the questions put up by the audience. The proceedings were nearly over when a Pathan rushed to the platform with a big stick. Gandhiji grasped the situation at once. Sheth Daud Muhammad, the Chairman stood up on the chairman's table and tried to quell the disturbance. Some of those on the platform surrounded Gandhiji to defend his person. The friends who had feared an assault had come to the place prepared for all eventualities. One of them had a revolver in his pocket and he fired a blank shot. Meanwhile Parsi Rustomji who had noticed the gathering clouds went with all possible speed to the police station and informed Superintendent Alexander about the situation. He sent a police party at once. The police made a way for Gandhiji through the crowd and took him to Parsi Rustomji's place.

The next day Parsi Rustomji brought all the Pathans of Durban together in the morning and asked them to place before Gandhiji all their complaints against him. Gandhiji tried to conciliate them but with little success. They had a preconceived

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notion that Gandhiji had betrayed the community. Gandhiji felt that until this poison was removed, it was useless reasoning with them. The canker of suspicion could not be cured by arguments or explanations.

Gandhiji left Durban for Phoenix the same day. The friends who had guarded him the previous night would not let him go alone, and informed him that they intended to accompany him to Phoenix. Gandhiji said: "I cannot prevent you if you will come in spite of me. But Phoenix is a jungle. And what will you do if we the only dwellers in it do not give you even food?" One of the friends replied; "That won't frighten us. We are well able to look after ourselves. And so long as we are soldiering, who is there to prevent us from robbing your pantry?" Gandhiji and his friends thus made a merry party for Phoenix.

The leader of this self-appointed guard was Jack Moodaley, a Natal-born Tamilian well known among the Indians as a trained boxer. He and his companions believed that no man in South Africa, whether white or coloured, was a match for him in that branch of sport.

In South Africa, Gandhiji had, for many years, been in the habit of sleeping in the open at all times except when there was rain. He was not prepared to change this habit and so the self-constituted guard (friends) decided to keep watch all night. Gandhiji had to allow this though he did not like it. He was of the view that the strength of the spirit within mostly evaporates when a person gets and accepts support from outside, and that a *Satyagrahi* must always be on his guard against such temptations. He must have an unflinching faith in God.

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While in Phoenix, Gandhiji wrote a good deal with a view to removing misunderstanding about the settlement he had made with General Smuts. He also wrote an imaginary dialogue for *Indian opinion* in which he disposed of all the objections advanced and criticisms passed against the settlement. This dialogue produced a good effect in the Transvaal, and within a short time a large number of Indians there applied for registration. There was such a rush of these applicants that the officers concerned were hard pressed with work. It was noted by them in the end that there were hardly a few Indians left in the Transvaal who had not registered themselves voluntarily. Thus Gandhiji stood completely vindicated of the charge that he had betrayed the community. Gandhiji could clearly see that the misunderstanding, though of an acute nature, was quite limited in its extent.

The Transvaal struggle was the first attempt at applying the principle of *Satyagraha* to masses or bodies of men. Gandhiji has recorded; "I do not know any historical example of pure mass *Satyagraha*. I cannot however formulate any definite opinion on the point, as my knowledge of history is limited. But as a matter of fact we have nothing to do with historical precedents. Granted the fundamental principles of *Satyagraha*, it will be seen that the consequences I have described are bound to follow as night the day. It will not do to dismiss such a valuable force with the remark that it is difficult or impossible of application. Brute force has been the ruling in the world for thousands of years, and mankind has been reaping its bitter harvest all along. There is little hope of anything good coming out of it in the future. If light can come out of darkness, then alone can love emerge from hatred.

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CHAPTER XXIV

BREACH OF THE COMPROMISE

The substance of the settlement made by General Smuts was that the Indians should register voluntarily and not under any law, that the details to be entered in the new certificate of registration should be settled by the Government in consultation with the Indian community, and that if the majority of Indians underwent voluntary registration, Government should repeal the Black Act and take steps with a view to legalize the voluntary registration.

In a very short time the Indians had fulfilled their part of the settlement and now it was the duty of the Government to repeal the Black Act. But instead of repealing the Black Act, General Smuts took a fresh step forward. He maintained the Black Act on the statute book and introduced into the legislature a measure:

1. validating the voluntary registration effected and the certificates issued subsequent to the date fixed by the Government in terms of that Act,

2. taking the holders of the voluntary registration certificates out of its operation, and

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3. making further provisions for the registration of Asiatics.

Thus there came into force two concurrent pieces of legislation with one and the same object, thus including freshly arriving Indians as well as even later applicants for registration.

Gandhiji was astounded when he read the Bill. Here was excellent food for the Pathan friend who had severely criticized him at the midnight meeting. He called a meeting of the (*Satyagraha*) Committee and explained the new situation to them. Some of the members tauntingly said: "There you are. We have often been telling you that you are very credulous, and believe in everything that one says. It would not matter much if you were so simple in your private affairs, but the community has to suffer for your credulity in public matters. It is very difficult now to rouse the same spirit as actuated our people before. You know what stuff we Indians are made of, men whose momentary enthusiasm must be taken at the flood. If you neglect the temporary tide, you are done for."

Gandhiji says : "There was no bitterness in these taunting words. Such things had been addressed to me on other occasions also. I replied with a smile: "Well, what you call my credulity is part and parcel of myself. It is not credulity but trust, and it is the duty of every one of us, yours as well as mine, to trust our fellowmen. And even granting that it is really a defect with me, you must take me as you find me with my defects no less than with my qualities. But I cannot concede that the enthusiasm of the community is a mere temporary effervescence. In a great struggle like ours there is always a tide and an ebb. I would therefore advise you patiently to

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deal with the problem before us. We have to consider what we can do in case the struggle has to be resumed, that is to say, what each *Satyagrahi* can do absolutely regardless of the conduct of others. Personally, I am inclined to think that if we are true to ourselves, others will not be found wanting, and even if they are inclined to weakness, they will be strengthened by our example."

After the meeting was over, Gandhiji wrote a letter to General Smuts saying that his new bill constituted a breach of the compromise. He also met Albert Cartwright who had been the mediator between General Smuts and Gandhiji. Albert Cartwright was deeply shocked and exclaimed : "Really I cannot understand this man at all. I perfectly remember that he promised to repeal the Asiatic Act. I will do my best but you know that nothing can move General Smuts when he has once taken up a stand. Newspaper articles are nothing to him. So I am afraid I may not be of much help of you."

Gandhiji also met Mr. Hosken who wrote to General Smuts but he received only a very unsatisfactory reply. Gandhiji wrote articles in *Indian Opinion* under the caption of "Foul Play" but that too could not move the redoubtable General.

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CHAPTER XXV

RESUMPTION OF THE STRUGGLE

On the one hand Gandhiji was trying to induce General Smuts to fulfil his part of the settlement, on the other hand he and his friends were enthusiastically engaged in educating the community. They found the people everywhere ready to resume the struggle and go to jail. Meetings were held in every place, where they explained the correspondence which was being carried on with the Government. The weekly diary in *Indian Opinion* kept the Indians fully abreast of current events, and they were warned of the impending failure of the voluntary registration, and asked to hold themselves in readiness to burn the certificates if the Black Act was not repealed, and thus let the Government note that the community was fearless and firm to go to prison. Certificates were collected from every place with a view to making a bonfire of them.

A final letter was then sent to the Government which stated: "The point of the agreement between the Indians and General Smuts clearly was that if the Indians registered voluntarily, he on his part should bring forward in the legislature a bill to validate such registration and to repeal the Asiatic Act. It is well known that the Indians have registered voluntarily to the satisfaction of the Government and therefore the Asiatic

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Act must be repealed. The community has sent many communications to General Smuts and taken all possible legal steps to obtain redress but thus far to no purpose. At a time when the bill is passing through the Legislature, it is up to the leaders to apprise the Government of the discontent and strong feeling prevalent in the community. We regret to state that if the repeal of the Asiatic Act is not communicated to the Indians before a specific date, the certificates collected by the Indians would be burnt and they would humbly but firmly take the consequences."

General Smuts took this letter as an ultimatum to the Government because it prescribed a time limit for reply. He declared: "The people who have offered such a threat to the Government have no idea of its power. I am only sorry that some agitators are trying to inflame poor Indians who will be ruined if they succumb to their blandishments."

As a newspaper reporter wrote on this occasion, many members of the Transvaal Assembly reddened with rage at this 'ultimatum', passed the bill introduced by General Smuts, unanimously and enthusiastically.

The ultimatum was to expire on the same day on which the new Asiatic Bill was to be carried through the legislature. A meeting had been called two hours after the expiry of the time limit given in the ultimatum, to perform the public ceremony of burning the certificates.

The meeting was to be held at 4 p.m. on August 16, 1908 on the grounds of the Hamidia Mosque at Johannesburg. Gandhiji and other leaders reached the place of the meeting early.

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They had arranged for the Government's reply, if any, to be brought promptly at the meeting. Every inch of space available at the place of meeting was taken up by Indians of all classes. The largest size of cauldron resting on four legs available in the market had been requisitioned from an Indian trader's shop and it was set up on a platform in a corner of the ground in order to burn the certificates.

As the business of the meeting was about to commence, a volunteer arrived on a cycle with a telegram from the Government in which they regretted the determination of the Indian community and announced their inability to change their line of action. The telegram was read to the audience which received it with cheers. These cheers indicated the enthusiasm of the Indians present at the meeting and a feeling of gladness that the Government has provided them an opportunity to show their strength. The meeting then began. At the outset the Chairman explained the whole situation to the audience. Gandhiji then clearly detailed the various stages of the protracted negotiation with the Government and said:

> "If there is any Indian who has handed his certificate to be burnt but wants it to be returned to him, let him step forward and have it. Merely burning the certificates is no crime and will not enable those who court imprisonment to win it. By burning the certificates we only declare our solemn resolution never to submit to the Black Act and divest ourselves of the power of even showing the certificates. But it is open to any one to take a copy of the certificate to-morrow. If there are any persons here who contemplate such a cowardly act or doubt their own

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ability to stand the ordeal, there is still time for them to have their certificates back. No one need be ashamed of getting his certificate back just now, as in doing so he will be exhibiting a certain kind of courage. But it would be not only shameful but also detrimental to the best interests of the community to get a copy of the certificate afterwards. Again, let us take note that this is going to be a protracted struggle. We know that some of us have fallen out of the marching army, and the burden of those who remain has been made heavier to that extent. I would advise you to ponder over all these considerations and only then to take the plunge proposed to-day."

Even during Gandhiji's speech there were voices saying: "We do not want the certificates back, burn them."

The resolutions moved by the chairman were then adopted unanimously. Gandhiji suggested that if any one wanted to oppose the resolution he should come forward, but no one stood up.

Mir Alam too was present at this meeting. He stood up and announced that he had done wrong to assault Gandhiji. Gandhiji took hold of his hand, pressed it with joy and assured him that he had never harboured in his mind any resentment against him.

To the great joy of the audience, Mir Alam handed over his original certificate to be burnt. He had not taken a voluntary certificate.

The Satyagraha Committee had received more than 2000 certificates to be burnt. All these certificates were thrown into

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the cauldron, saturated with paraffin and set ablaze by Mr. Yusuf Mian. The whole assembly rose to their feet and made the place resound with the echoes of their continuous cheers during the burning process.

Some of those who had still withheld their certificates brought them in numbers to the platform and these too were consigned to the flames. When asked why he handed his certificate only at the last moment, one of them said that he did so, as he felt that it was more appropriate and that it would create a greater impression on the onlookers. Another frankly admitted his lack of courage, but he could not possibly withhold the certificate after he had seen the bonfire and gave it up.

The reporters of English newspapers present at the meeting were profoundly impressed with the whole scene and gave graphic descriptions of the meeting in their paper.

The intensity of the Indian feeling forced General Smuts to call Gandhiji on August 18, to confer with the Government. Negotiations with the Government failed. A second mass meeting was held on August 23 and more certificates were burnt on that day too, indicating the determination of the Indians to oppose the Black Act.

General Smuts had carried through the Legislature another Bill called the Transvaal Immigrants Restriction Bill (Act 15 of 1907) which was ostensibly of general application but was chiefly aimed at the Indians. This Act was indirectly made an instrument for preventing the entry of a single Indian newcomer into Transvaal. The Satyagraha Committee decided that this Act too must be covered by the Satyagraha Struggle.

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There were several Indians in Natal who possessed ancient rights of domicile in the Transvaal. They had also some knowledge of English. Big traders like Sheth Daud Mohamed and Parsi Rustomji decided to enter the Transvaal. When they arrived on the frontiers of the Transvaal on August 18, they were arrested under the above mentioned Act. After having been warned they were deported without trial. But when they re-entered the Transvaal on September 8, they were sentenced to a fine of £ 50 or three month's imprisonment with hard labour. Both of them cheerfully elected to go to jail.

Natal Indians followed Sheth Daud Mohamed's example. Jails began to be filled with 'invaders' from Natal getting three month's imprisonment with hard labour.

The Transvaal Indians were in high spirits. Some of them began to hawk without licence, resulting in many arrests in Johannesburg. These hawkers were getting imprisonment with hard labour from four days to three months.

Gandhiji was arrested with fifteen others on September 29, 1908. His crime was that while returning from Natal, he was unable to show his certificate which he had burnt with the rest on August 16th. He had refused to give his thumb-print as a means of identification which would have meant acquiescence in the Act. On October 15th, he was sentenced to pay a fine of £ 25 or to go to jail with hard labour for two months. He preferred imprisonment. When passing sentence on him, the magistrate said: "I very much regret to see Mr. Gandhi, an officer of this court and of the Supreme Court, in this present position. Mr. Gandhi may feel otherwise looking

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at the situation in the light that he is suffering for his country. But I can only view it from another point of view."

Gandhiji was removed to Volksrust jail. There he was drafted to work in digging earth, attired in the prison garb. He was also given the job of a sweeper for some time. There were at that time about 250 *Satyagrahi* prisoners in different jails of the Transvaal. From Volksrust jail Gandhiji sent a message to the people : "Keep absolutely firm to the end. Suffering is our remedy. Victory is certain."

Government thought that if they separated Gandhiji from other prisoners it might perhaps chasten him as well as the others. On Sunday October 27 Gandhiji was taken from Volksrust jail to Johannesburg. Dressed in convict clothes marked all over with the broad arrow, he was marched under heavy guard, from Johannesburg station, through the streets of the city, carrying his bundles as any convict would. Then he was taken to Pretoria jail where he was confined in a solitary cell reserved for dangerous prisoners. He was subjected to many kinds of hardships. For two days he was brought to the court as a witness, manacled and handcuffed.

After the expiry of the jail term, Gandhiji was released at the beginning of December 1908. He then started attending to his legal and political work in Johannesburg. On December 10, he got a telephone message from Durban that Kasturbai, who had frequent haemorrhage during the previous three months, underwent an operation in Durban and that her condition was serious. Gandhiji took the train for Durban the same day. He found Kasturbai in a very bad condition. She was mere skin and bone, having had no nourishment for days. He met the

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doctor who quietly told him : "I had already given Mrs. Gandhi beef tea when I telephoned to you." Gandhiji was deeply pained to know this. He had not given his permission to the doctor to give her beef tea. The doctor was a good man and a personal friend of Gandhiji. He said: "We doctors consider it a virtue to deceive patients or their relatives, if thereby we can save our patients."

Gandhiji : "Doctor tell me what you propose to do now. I would never allow my wife to be given meat or beef tea, even if the denial meant her death, unless of course she desired to take it."

Doctor : "You are welcome to your philosophy. I tell you that so long as you keep your wife under my treatment, I must have the option to give her anything I wish. If you don't like this, I must regretfully ask you to remove her. I can't see her die under my roof."

Gandhiji : "Do you mean to say that I must remove her at once ?"

Doctor : "Whenever did I ask you to remove her? I only want to be left entirely free. If you do so, my wife and I will do all that is possible for her, and you may go back without the least anxiety on her score. But if you will not understand this simple thing, you will compel me to ask you to remove your wife from my place."

Kasturbai was really too weak to be consulted in this matter. But Gandhiji felt that her view must be ascertained before taking a final decision. He told her what had passed between

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him and the doctor. She gave a resolute reply: "I will not take beef tea. It is a rare thing in this world to be born as a human being, and I would far rather die in your arms than pollute my body with such abominations."

Gandhiji pleaded with her. He cited to her the instances of Hindu friends and acquaintances who had no scruples about taking meat or wine as medicine. But she was adamant. "No" said she, "Pray remove me at once."

Gandhiji informed the doctor of her resolve. He exclaimed in a rage : "What a callous man you are ! You should have been ashamed to broach the matter to her in her present condition. I tell you your wife is not in a fit state to be removed. She cannot stand the least little hustling. I should not be surprised if she were to die on the way. But if you must persist, you are free to do so. If you will not give her beef tea, I will not take the risk of keeping her under my roof even for a single day."

Gandhiji decided to leave the place at once. It was drizzling and the station was at some distance. They had to take the train from Durban to Phoenix station. Then the Phoenix Settlement was to be reached by road covering a distance of two miles and a half. Undoubtedly Gandhiji was taking a great risk, but with full trust in God he proceeded with his task.

He sent a messenger to Phoenix in advance with a message to Mr.West to receive him at Phoenix station with a hammock, a bottle of hot milk and one of hot water, and six men to carry Kasturbai in a hammock. He then got a rickshaw, put Kasturbai into it and marched away to Durban railway station to catch the next available train to Phoenix. Kasturbai

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needed no cheering up. On the contrary, she comforted Gandhiji saying: "Nothing will happen to me. Don't worry."

The station platform was very large and one had to walk some distance before he could reach the train. As the rickshaw could not be taken inside the platform, Gandhiji carried Kasturbai in his arms and put her into the compartment. From Phoenix station to the settlement she was carried in the hammock.

At Phoenix Gandhiji put Kasturbai under his own hydropathic treatment. He fed her at intervals with lemon juice. No other food or drink of any kind was given to her. Then, gradually fruit and milk were added, and lastly vegetables without condiments and cereals. Gandhiji scarcely left Kasturba's side which was a great moral support to her. And without a single relapse, she slowly returned to normal health within a month. Pernicious anaemia with which Kasturbai was suffering was, in those days, looked upon as one of the fatal diseases. Doctors had given up hopes but Gandhiji cured her with his hydropathic treatment which was almost a miracle.

Mention may incidentally be made here of an event that occurred during this period. Within two or three days of Gandhiji's arrival with his wife at Phoenix, a Swami came there. He had heard of the resolute way in which Gandhiji had rejected the doctor's advice. He started pleading with Gandhiji in the presence of Kasturbai and their sons Manilal and Ramdas that religion does not bar taking meat when necessary. He cited some verses from *Manusmriti* in support of his stand. Gandhiji knew these verses but he considered them as interpolations. He held his views on vegetarianism independently of religious texts. Kasturbai's faith was unshakable. To her the scriptural

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texts were a sealed book, the traditional religion of her forefathers was enough for her. So the discourse of the Swami could not produce any change in her mind. She said : "Swamiji! Whatever you may say, I do not want to recover by means of beef tea. Pray don't worry me any more. My mind is made up."

After confirming that his wife had regained her full normal health, Gandhiji decided to return to Johannesburg. During his absence also, the struggle in the Transvaal continued with unabated vigour. The *Satyagrahis* were going to the jail in large numbers every day. Government was in a quandary. How many Indians could be sent to jail after all? It also meant additional expenditure. The Government began to cast about for other means of dealing with the situation.

On January 15, 1909, when Gandhiji returned to the Transvaal, the police officer at Volksrust asked him to produce his registration certificate and to give means of identification. Failing to do this, he was arrested and brought before the magistrate who ordered his removal from the colony. Gandhiji was accordingly removed and released at the border, a quarter of a mile away. But he returned almost immediately. He was rearrested but was not charged. He was released on his own recognizance and allowed to proceed to Johannesburg.

But on February 25, Gandhiji and seven others were sentenced at Volksrust for refusing to produce certificates of registration and to give finger prints, to a fine of £ 50 or to undergo three months imprisonment with hard labour. All went to jail. Addressing the Court, Gandhiji said: "I consider myself the greatest offender in the Asiatic struggle. If the conduct

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that I am pursuing is held to be reprehensible, I ask you to impose on me the highest penalty."

This time also he was lodged in the Pretoria jail and he was released on the expiry of the jail term, on May 24. About a hundred Indians were there outside the jail, to greet him with bouquets and garlands. Then Gandhiji addressed a meeting and said: "Whether our members be large or small, I earnestly pray God to give us strength to carry the burden until we have reached the goal."

After his release Gandhiji took up the fight with added vigour. The Government realized that they could not subdue the *Satyagrahis*. The Asiatic Act as well as the Immigration Act provided for three kinds of punishment, viz., fine, imprisonment and deportation. The courts were empowered to award all the punishments simultaneously and all magistrates were given jurisdiction to impose the maximum penalties. Nearly one-third of the actual resident Indian population of the Transvaal had gone through the prisons of the Transvaal. A large batch of Indians was deported to India. They had to suffer great hardships. All this notwithstanding, many Indians remained perfectly firm. They were confident that truth is great and it shall prevail in the end.

Meanwhile, there was a continuous movement in South African politics. The Boers and the British were anxious to secure a higher status by effecting a union of the various Colonies in the subcontinent. Some wanted a total breach of the British connection whereas others preferred to keep up a nominal association with the British Empire. Englishmen would

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never agree to a total secession, and any higher status could be attained only through the British Parliament. The Boers and the British in South Africa therefore decided to send a deputation to England in order to present their case before the British Cabinet.

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CHAPTER XXVI

SECOND DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND

The Indians in South Africa felt that the formation of a union of the Colonies in South Africa will in no way improve their existing condition. All the Colonies were following an anti-Indian policy at that time and it was feared that the Indian community would have to face harder days when all these Colonies came closer together. Gandhiji therefore suggested that an Indian deputation should also be sent to England to present their case, although there was every likelihood of their small voice being drowned in the loud roar of British and Boer lions. His suggestion was accepted and the Indian community resolved to send a deputation consisting of Gandhiji and Sheth Haji Habib, who had carried on a long established trade in the Transvaal and was a man of wide experience. He had not received English education, yet he easily understood English, Dutch, Zulu and other languages. His sympathies were with the *Satyagrahis* but he could not be described as a full *Satyagrahi* himself. This deputation left Cape Town on June 23, 1909 by *S.S.Kenilworth Castle*, reaching London on July 10. Mr. Merriman, the famous veteran statesman of South Africa was their fellow passenger. He was going with a view to support the unification of the Colonies. A separate deputation of the Indians in Natal also proceeded to England about this

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time in connection with their special grievances. General Smuts, General Botha and others were already in England.

On his way to England, Gandhiji wrote : "Truth to tell, I rather prefer jail life than a first-class cabin in this steamer. Here we are more attended to than babies. We are spoiled with eating. The innumerable servants leave us no room for physical exertion. I am almost tired of perpetually washing my hands and keeping them clean. They were far better in Pretoria jail. Alas! I cannot pray here with the same depth, earnestness and devotion. This is the literal truth. Where there is pomp, where there is glitter, ease and pleasure, there you cannot remain as humble and faithful servant of God."

At that time Lord Crewe was Secretary of State for the Colonies and Lord Morley Secretary of State for India. Gandhiji and Sheth Haji Habib interviewed a large number of people, journalists, members of both the Houses of Parliament, and had useful discussions with them. Lord Ampthil rendered them invaluable help. He used to meet Mr. Merriman, General Botha and others, and at last he brought a message from General Botha for Gandhiji. He said : "General Botha appreciates your feelings in the matter and is willing to grant your minor demands. But he is not ready to repeal the Asiatic Act or to amend the Immigrants Restriction Act. He also refuses to remove the colour bar which has been set up in the law of the land. To maintain the racial bar is a matter of principle with the General and even if he felt like doing away with it, the South African Europeans would never listen to him. General Smuts is of the same mind as General Botha, and this is their final decision and final offer. If you ask for more, you will only be inviting

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trouble for yourself as well as your people. Therefore whatever you do, do it after giving due consideration of this attitude of the Boer leaders. General Botha has asked me to tell you this and give you an idea of your responsibility."

Lord Amphill further advised : You see that Genaral Botha concedes all your practical demands. In this work-a-day world we must always give and take. We cannot have everything we desire. If you wish to fight for principle's sake you may do so later on, but now you should close the matter with this offer. You and the Sheth think over this, and let me have your reply at your convenience."

Upon hearing this, Gandhiji looked to Sheth Haji Habib, who said: "Tell him from me that I accept General Botha's offer on behalf of the conciliation party. If he makes these concessions, we will be satisfied for the present and later on struggle for principle. I do not like the community to suffer any more. The party I represent constitutes the majority of the community. It also holds the major portion of the community's wealth.

Gandhiji translated the Sheth's sentences word by word and then on behalf of the *Satyagrahis*, he said : "We are both highly obliged to you for the trouble you have taken. My colleague is right when he says that he represents a numerically and financially stronger section. The Indians for whom I speak are comparatively poor and inferior in numbers, but they are resolute unto death. They are fighting not only for practical relief but for principles as well. If they must give up either of the two, they will jettison the former and fight for the latter. We have an idea of General Botha's might, but we attach still greater weight to our pledge and therefore we are ready to

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face the worst in the act of abiding by it. We will be patient in the confidence that if we stick to our solemn resolution, God in whose name we have made it, will see to its fulfilment."

"I can grasp your position fully. You have done much for us. We will not take it ill if you now withhold your support from a handful of *Satyagrahis*. Nor will we forget the debt of gratitude under which you have laid us. But we trust that will excuse us for our inability to accept your advice. You may certainly tell General Botha how the Sheth and myself have received this offer and inform him that the *Satyagrahis*, though in a minority, will observe their pledge and hope in the end to soften his heart by their self-suffering and to induce him to repeal Asiatic Act."

Lord Ampthill replied :"You must not suppose that I will give you up. I too must play the gentleman's part. Englishmen are not willing at once to relinquish any task they have undertaken. Yours is a righteous struggle, and you are fighting with clean weapons. How possibly can I give you up? But you can realize my delicate position. The suffering, if any, must be borne by you alone, and therefore it is my duty to advise you to accept any settlement possible in the circumstances., But if you, who have to suffer, are prepared to undergo any amount of suffering for principle's sake, I must not only not come in your way but even congratulate you. I will therefore continue as President of your Committee and help you to the best of my ability. But you must remember that I am but a junior member of the House of Lords and do not command much influence. However, you may rest assured that what little influence I possess will be continually exerted on your behalf."

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One important thing should be noted here. Sheth Haji Habib and Gandhiji held divergent views and yet there was such friendship and mutual confidence between them that the Sheth did not hesitate to communicate his difference of opinion to Lord Ampthill through Gandhiji.

Gandhiji stayed in England for about four months (July 10 to November 12, 1909). During this period he had occasion to talk with many Indian anarchists. He also discussed with Lord Ampthill the main points relating to the difficulties of Indians living in South Africa with a view to find out a satisfactory method to overcome them. During his return voyage to South Africa on board *S.S.Kildonan Castle* (November 13-30, 1909) Gandhiji wrote a book entitled '*Hind Swaraj*' or 'Indian Home Rule' which was published in *Indian Opinion* soon after his return to South Africa. He wrote this book in Gujarati, working day and night over the manuscript for ten days, covering 271 pages on the steamer's stationery. He stated "The Satyagraha of South Africa is still an infant hardly two years old. But it has developed sufficiently to write of it with some degree of confidence. *Hind Swaraj* teaches the Gospel of love in place of hate. It replaces violence with self-sacrifice. It pits soul force against brute force."

In this book Gandhiji has severely condemned the modern civilization. Divided into twenty chapters, the book deals with *Swaraj*, civilization, lawyers, doctors, machinery, education, passive resistance and such other matters. Written in dialogue form, it is a faithful record of conversations that Gandhiji had with workers, one of whom was an avowed terrorist.

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S.S.Kildonan Castle reached Capetown on November 30, 1909. On landing there Gandhiji finally came to know that his mission to London bore no fruit. Replying to a question in the House of Lords, Lord Creve, the Secretary of State for India had stated on November 17, 1909: "The spokesmen for the Indians have put their case with skill and fairness. The Transvaal ministers were willing to meet the majority of difficulties. There remains, however, the theoretical grievance that the Transvaal was shunting out the Asiatics. We cannot thwart the policy of self-governing colonies of South Africa."

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CHAPTER XXVII

GANDHIJI'S SATYAGRAHA STRUGGLE CONTINUES

The position was quite clear to Gandhiji now. The struggle had to continue. He recorded: "I knew who would stand by us till the end. My ideas about *Satyagraha* had now matured and I had realized its universality as well as its excellence. I was therefore perfectly at ease. '*Hind Swaraj*' was written in order to demonstrate the sublimity of *Satyagraha* and that book is a true measure of my faith in its efficacy. I was perfectly indifferent to the numerical strength of the fighters on our side. But I was not free from anxiety on the score of finance. It was indeed hard to prosecute a long protracted struggle without funds."

While he was thinking so, he received a cable from London that Ratanji Jamshedji Tata, the great Indian industrialist had given Rs. 25000/- to Satyagraha funds. Gandhiji realized at once that God has provided him sufficient funds to carry on his struggle.

Gandhiji was, by this time, widely known in India for his great services to uphold the dignity of the Indians living in South Africa. Gopal Krishna Gokhale described him as a man of tremendous spiritual power, one who is made of the stuff of which great heroes and martyrs are made.

The imprisonment of over 3000 Indians, the deportation of more than 200 *Satyagrahis* and the infliction of untold

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sufferings upon hundreds of families were intensely felt in India. Thousands of rupees were collected for relief of those rendered destitute in the struggle. Even the Indian princes began to show lively interest in the passive resistance (*Satya-graha*).

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who was the president of the Indian National Congress at that time, cabled to Gandhiji:

> "The Congress deeply appreciates and admires the heroic struggle of the brethren, urges continuance and promises the utmost support. Cabling funds. Have cabled General Botha to grant relief."

This was sufficient to convince Gandhiji that India fully backs him and that his work will not suffer in any way for want of funds. But Gandhiji felt that "money could not by itself help forward a Satyagraha Struggle; a fight on behalf of truth consisting chiefly in self-purification and self-reliance. A Satyagraha struggle is impossible without capital in the shape of character. As a splendid palace deserted by its inmates looks like a ruin, so does a man without character, all his material belongings notwithstanding."

Gandhiji had set his foot in Capetown on November 30, 1909. From there, he proceeded to his Phoenix Settlement. After about 20 days, he left for Johannesburg. On December 22, 1909 he and his six colleagues entered the Transvaal without any hindrance. Gandhiji resumed his work in Johannesburg. During his absence, the Satyagraha struggle was at a low ebb. But soon after his arrival there, it gained momentum. A handful of *Satyagrahis*, who had pledged to fight unto death

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or victory, kept on the struggle unabated. On the other hand the Transvaal Government was determined not to yield even an inch of ground. It was like a war between ants and an elephant which could crush thousands of them under each of its feet. For the *Satyagrahis*, fighting meant imprisonment or deportation. But what about their families? This was the main question before Gandhiji. Pondering over this question he came to the conclusion that a large area of land should be acquired in the Transvaal and near Johannesburg to rehabilitate the families of the *Satyagrahis*; all these families should be kept at one place and should become members of a sort of co-operative commonwealth.

Tolstoy Farm

Gandhiji's old and close friend Hermann Kallenbach, with whom he had lived for sometime in Johannesburg, came to his assistance now. Kallenbach (a German) was a man of strong feelings, wide sympathies and childlike simplicity. He was an architect by profession, but there was no work, however low, which he considered to be beneath his dignity. In May 1910 he bought a farm of about 1100 acres and gave the use of it to *Satyagrahis* free of any rent or charge. There were nearly one thousand fruit-bearing trees in that farm. There was also a small house at the foot of a hill there with accommodation for half-a-dozen persons. Water was supplied from two wells as well as from a spring. The nearest railway station, Lawley, was about a mile from the farm. Johannesburg was at twenty-one miles away from it. Gandhiji and Kallenbach decided to build houses upon this farm and to invite the families of the *Satyagrahis* to settle there.

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Houses were built in two separate blocks, one to accommodate ten women and the other to accommodate sixty men. A house was also constructed for Mr.Kallenbach. By its side was constructed a school building. Workshops for carpentry, shoemaking etc. were also erected soon. The *Satyagrahis* after their release from the jail, could settle there and carry on a peaceful life. The farm was named Tolstoy Farm. It proved to be a centre of spiritual purification and penance for the final campaign.

The settlers in the Farm hailed from Gujarat, Tamilnad, Andhra Pradesh and North India, and there were Hindus, Musalmans, Parsis and Christians among them. Although staunch in their own beliefs, all of them treated one another with respect and assisted one another in their respective observances.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

CREATION OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Early in the year 1910, the British Parliament passed the Act for the creation of the Union of South Africa and it came into being on 31st May, 1910. The four separate colonies viz. Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State became the provinces of the Union of South Africa. The Senate and the House of Assembly were the Legislative bodies of the Union. General Botha became the first Premier of the Union which he held till his death on August 27, 1919. The first Governor-General of the Union, representing the King Emperor was Viscount Gladstone (from 1910 to 1914).

In England, Lord Ampthil and the South African Committee succeeded in their efforts as a result of which the Imperial Government sent a dispatch in October 1910 to the Union Government of South Africa, recommending the repeal of Act 2 of 1907. It demanded the removal of the racial bar and the substitution of the Indian suggestion of non-racial legislation, modified by administrative differentiation effectively limiting future immigration in the Union to a minimum number annually of highly educated men.

The Union Government drafted a new bill to settle once for all this vexed question. The new bill was published on

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February 25, 1911 in the Union of South Africa Government Gazette Extraordinary. Gandhiji wrote:

> "The bill is evidently designed to satisfy passive resisters, and over a year's experience after his famous dispatch to Lord Crewe, declining to recognize legal equality between Europeans and Indians in South Africa, had evidently taught General Smuts that he could not safely violate the traditions of the British Empire. But the working of the bill did not carry out the design of its authorities. It is highly satisfactory that Act 2 of 1907 is to be repealed. The exclusion of Asiatics is to be brought about, not by naming and specifically prohibiting the entry of such people but by subjecting them to a rigorous education test. In almost all other respects the measure is highly unsatisfactory. It takes away without the slightest reason the rights of the Cape and the Natal Asiatics which they have hitherto enjoyed without interference. The Union Government should undertake to satisfy the demands of the Transvaal passive resisters if the Imperial Government permitted the Union Parliament to legislate against the Asiatics residing in the Cape and the Natal provinces."

The bill evoked strong opposition on the part of Free State members of the Union Parliament who took exception to General Smuts' declaration that "as a limited number of Asiatics would be allowed under the bill to enter the Union every year, there could be no limitation of their right to travel about or settle in any part of the Union territory." The die-hards wanted to provide for the complete prevention of the entry of the Asiatics into their province. Gandhiji resented this attitude and

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declared that "There can be no play with the snake of racial legislation. The virus of racial legislation in the Orange Free State will speedily attack the whole Union."

Telegrams and letters were exchanged between General Smuts and Gandhiji but no acceptable formula was found. A provisional settlement of 1911 was, however, arrived at. With deep relief Gandhiji wrote in the *Indian Opinion* dated May 27, 1911:

> "A provisional settlement of the Asiatic trouble in the Transvaal has at last been reached, and the Indians and Chinese of the Transvaal are free to resume their ordinary occupations at least for eight months. General Smuts' pledge being redeemed, passive resistance will undoubtedly cease on the question that gave rise to it. If, however, some new anti-Asiatic legislation equally offensive is introduced, it may be affirmed with reasonable certainty that South Africa will witness fresh passive resistance."

On June 1,1911, all *Satyagrahis* who were still in jail were released and the Indians believed that the peaceful end of the bitter struggle was assured.

Gandhiji had already arranged for his legal practice to be taken over by his colleague Mr.Ritch and retire to his farm in order to come in closer contact with the Tolstoyan philosophy. Life in the Tolstoy Farm was absolutely quiet and the settlers were enjoying themselves in the fruit garden away from the din and roar of the cities. In September 1912, Gandhiji gave away all that he had to Phoenix Ashram and made it a Trust "to follow and promote the ideals set forth by Tolstoy and Ruskin in their lives and works." The property was worth more than £ 5000.

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CHAPTER XXIX

GOKHALE'S VISIT

Gandhiji had been requesting Gopal Krishna Gokhale to make a visit to South Africa and to study the condition of the Indian settlers on the spot. In the year 1911, when Gokhale was in England, he met the Secretary of State for India and informed him of his intention to proceed to South Africa and acquaint himself with the facts relating to the Indians there at first hand. The Secretary of State for India approved of Gokhale's mission. Gokhale then asked Gandhiji to arrange a programme for a six weeks' tour of South Africa. The programme was finalised by Gandhiji.

The Secretary of State for India had informed the Union Government of South Africa about the proposed visit of Gokhale and about his high rank, his position in the Empire etc. Therefore, the Union Government offered Gokhale their hospitality during his stay at Pretoria and placed the state railway saloon at his disposal. After consulting Gandhiji he accepted the offer.

A letter was addressed from the India office, London to the Director of the Steamship Company and they placed at Gokhale's disposal the best cabin available in the steamer. The captain of the steamer received instructions to treat Gokhale

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well, and consequently he had a happy and peaceful voyage to South Africa.

Gokhale landed at Cape Town on October 22, 1912. Gandhiji noticed that his health was very much more delicate than what he had expected. He restricted himself to a particular diet, and could not endure much fatigue. The programme framed by Gandhiji was much too heavy for him. Gokhale was ready to go through the whole programme if no modification was possible. Some changes were made but much had to be left as it was. Gandhiji acted as his Secretary throughout the tour. The volunteers, one of whom was Kallenbach, remained alert to ensure that Gokhale did not have any discomfort or hardship for want of help.

The first meeting arranged to welcome Gokhale was held in Cape Town. It was a big meeting attended by a large number of Indians and Europeans. Senator W.P.Schreiner welcomed Gokhale in well chosen words. Gokhale made a speech, concise, full of sound judgement, firm but courteous which pleased the Indians and fascinated the Europeans. In fact, Gokhale won the hearts of the variegated people of South Africa on the very first day.

From Cape Town Gokhale went to Johannesburg by a railway journey of two days. On the way he stopped at Klerksdorp, the first large frontier station of the Transvaal, where he was received by a large number of Indians enthusiastically. Then he had to attend meetings for welcoming him at Potchefstroom and Krugersdorp (intermediate stations between Klerksdorp and Johannesburg). The Mayors of these places presided

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at the meetings. Addresses were presented to Gokhale in all these places.

The train reached Johannesburg punctually to the minute. On the platform of the Johannesburg station, there was a dais specially erected for the occasion and covered with rich carpets. Along with other Europeans there was present Mr. Ellis, the Mayor of Johannesburg, who placed his car at Gokhale's disposal during his stay in the Golden city. An address was presented to Gokhale in the station itself. This address was engraved on a solid heart-shaped plate of gold from the Rand mounted on Rhodesian teak. On the plate was a map of India and Ceylon and it was flanked on either side by two gold tablets, one bearing an illustration of the Taj Mahal and the other a characteristic Indian scene. Indian scenes were also beautifully carved on the woodwork.

In Johannesburg, Gokhale was put up in a fine house belonging to Mr. Kallenbach on a hill top five miles away from the city. He liked the place immensely as the scenery there was pleasant, the atmosphere soothing and the house though simple was full of art. A special office was hired in the city for Gokhale to receive all visitors. That office contained three rooms, a private chamber for Gokhale, a drawing room and a waiting room for visitors.

A private meeting of leading Europeans was organized so as to give Gokhale a thorough understanding of their standpoint. Besides this, a banquet was held in Gokhale's honour to which were invited 400 persons including about 150 Europeans. Indians were admitted by tickets, costing a guinea each, an arrangement which enabled the organizers to meet

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the expenses of the banquet. The menu was purely vegetarian and there were no wines. The cooking was attended to by volunteers. It was a novel and wonderful experience for the Europeans of South Africa to sit at dinner with so many Indians on the same table to have a purely vegetarian menu and to do without wines altogether. Gokhale addressed this gathering. This was his longest and most important speech in South Africa.

Gokhale also addressed a mass meeting of Indians only in Johannesburg. There were many Konkani Musalmans as well as a few Maharashtra Hindus in this meeting. All of them were eager to hear Gokhale's speech in Marathi. Gokhale agreed and addressed this meeting in Marathi. From that onwards up to Zanzibar he always spoke in Marathi in similar meetings and Gandhiji translated his Marathi into Hindustani.

After Johannesburg, Gokhale visited Natal and then proceeded to Pretoria, where he was put up by the Union Government at the Transvaal Hotel. Here he was to meet the ministers of the Government including General Botha and General Smuts. Gokhale's interview with the Union ministers was most important for the Indians in South Africa. Feeling that his presence in this interview may raise a sort of barrier between Gokhale and the ministers, Gandhiji decided that he should not go with Gokhale when he meets the Union ministers. Gokhale agreed but he asked Gandhiji to give him a brief historical statement of the condition of the Indians up to date and also indicate how far they were prepared to go. To narrate the vicissitudes of the Indian's history in the four colonies of South Africa ranging over a period of 18 years in a short time was indeed a difficult task. Gokhale kept himself awake the whole night and Gandhiji

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narrated the whole story in detail. Gokhale noted down every point very carefully, went over the whole ground again to make sure that he had rightly understood everything. He was at last satisfied.

Gokhale's interview with the ministers lasted for about two hours, and when he returned to Gandhiji, he said: "You must return to India in a year. Everything has been settled. The Black Act will be repealed. The racial bar will be removed from the Emigration Act. The £ 3 tax will be abolished."

Gandhiji replied: "I doubt it very much. You do not know the ministers as I do. Being an optimist myself, I love your optimism, but having suffered frequent disappointments, I am not as hopeful in the matter as you are. But I have no fears either. It is enough for me that you have obtained this understanding from the ministers. It is my duty to fight it out only where it is necessary and to demonstrate that ours is a righteous struggle. The promise given to you will serve as a proof of the just, of our demands and will redouble our fighting spirit if it comes to fighting after all. But I do not think I can return to India in a year and before many more Indians have gone to jail."

Gokhale said: "What I have told you is bound to come to pass. General Botha promised me that the Black Act would be repealed and the £ 3 tax abolished. You must return to India within twelve months, and I will not have any of your excuses."

During his visit to Natal, Gokhale came in contact with many Europeans in Durban, Maritzburg and other places. He also saw the diamond mines in Kimberly, where as well as at

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Durban, public dinners were arranged by the reception committees, and attended by many Europeans who admired him. Thus having achieved a conquest of Indian as well as European hearts, Gokhale left South Africa on November 17, 1912. At his wish Gandhiji and Kallenbach accompanied him as far as Zanzibar. On the steamer they arranged suitable food for him. On his way back to India Gokhale was given an ovation at Delagoa Bay, Inhambane, Zanzibar and other ports.

Gokhale had told Gandhiji after his interview with the ministers of the Union Government of South Africa that—

1. The Black Act will be repealed;
2. The racial bar will be removed from the emigration law; and
3. The £ 3 tax will be abolished.

Gokhale had expected that necessary legislation in this regard would be introduced in the ensuing session of the Union Parliament. Instead of this, General Smuts from his seat in the House of Assembly announced that as the Europeans in Natal objected to the repeal of the £ 3 tax, the Union Government were unable to pass legislation directing its removal which however was not the case. In fact, the members from Natal by themselves could do nothing in a body upon which the four colonies viz. Cape, Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State were represented. General Smuts should have brought forward the necessary Bill in the Assembly on behalf of the cabinet and then left the measure to its fate. But he did nothing of the kind to fulfil the promise given to Gokhale.

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Gandhiji wrote to Gokhale about the breach of pledge, and he was deeply pained to hear of it. Gandhiji told him that under the circumstances he would not be able to return to India by the middle of 1913 and that he would fight unto death to safeguard the interests of the Indians in South Africa. Gokhale asked him to indicate the maximum and the minimum strength of his army of peace, along with the names of the fighters. Gandhiji sent 66 names as the highest and 16 as the lowest number and said that he would not expect monetary assistance from India for such small numbers, making it further clear that he should not try to raise any funds in India for the *Satyagrahis* of South Africa. To this the stern answer of Gokhale was:

> "We in India have some idea of our duty even as you understand your obligations in South Africa. We will not permit you to tell us what is or is not proper for us to do. I only desired to know the position in South Africa, but did not seek your advice as to what we may do."

In the same letter Gokhale gave Gandhiji consolation and caution. He was afraid, in view of breach of pledge, that it would be a long protracted struggle. And he doubted how long a handful of men could continue to give battle to the insolent brute force of the Union Government of South Africa.

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CHAPTER XXX

A NEW CRISIS AGGRAVATES THE SITUATION

The Great Struggle

On January 18, 1913 *Indian Opinion* reported: "The Government bid fair to bring about a revival of passive resistance which we had hoped would not be necessary. We understand that the Government are not keeping their promise regarding those British Indians who, in terms of settlement, should be given rights of residence in the Transvaal or the Union as the case may be."

While the fate of the provisional settlement arrived at with Gokhale was hanging in the balance, a judgement given on March 14, 1913 by Mr. Justice Searle of the Cape Supreme Court added fuel to the fire.

Hasson Esop of Port Elizabeth had visited India in 1908 and married Bai Mariam. He returned in 1909 without her but again in 1912 he went to India to fetch her. On his return with her to South Africa, the immigration officer refused to allow her to land and ordered that she should go back to India. Hasson Esop approached the Supreme Court of Cape with an application to obtain an order restraining the Government from deporting his wife to India. The Supreme Court refused to pass any such order. In his judgement delivered on March 14,

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1913 Mr. Justice Searle said that all marriages effected outside were unacceptable in South Africa with the exception of such as were celebrated according to Christian rites and registered by the Registrar of Marriages. This judgement thus nullified in South Africa, with a stroke of the pen all marriages celebrated according to the Hindu, Musalman and Zoroastrian rites. The many married Indian women in South Africa ceased, in view of this judgement, to rank as the wives of their husbands and were degraded to the rank of concubines, while their progeny were deprived of their right to inherit the parent's property. This was an insufferable situation for women no less than men; and the Indians in South Africa were deeply agitated.

According to his usual practice, Gandhiji wrote to the Government, asking them whether they agreed to the Searle judgement and whether, if the judge was right in interpreting it, they would amend the law so as to recognize the validity of Indian marriages consecrated according to the religious customs of the parties and recognized as legal in India. The Government were not then in a mood to listen and could not see their way to comply with Gandhiji's request.

Decision to offer stubborn Satyagraha

A crisis had now arrived. Patience was impossible in the face of this insult offered to Indian womanhood. The Satyagraha Association decided to offer stubborn Satyagraha irrespective of the numbers of fighters. It was also decided to invite women to come into line along with the men. The sisters who had lived on Tolstoy Farm gladly came forward to enter the struggle. Gandhiji explained to them that they would have to put up with restraints in the matter of food, dress and

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personal movements. He also warned them that they might be given hard work in jail, made to wash clothes and even subjected to insult by the warders. But these sisters were all brave and feared none of these things. One of them was pregnant while six of them had young babies in arms. But one and all were eager to join as *Satyagrahi* and Gandhiji simply could not come in their way. These sisters numbering eleven were with one exception, all Tamilians.

These sisters entered the Transvaal at Vereeniging without permits, but they were not arrested. They took to hawking without a licence, then also the police ignored them. It now became a problem with the women how they should get arrested. There were not many men ready to go to jail and those who were ready could not easily have their wish.

It was then decided that the settlers at Phoenix may go to jail with the exception of a few who would be required for the conduct of *Indian Opinion* and of children below sixteen. The "invading" party, composed of four ladies (including Kasturbai Gandhi) and twelve gentlemen, left Phoenix for the Transvaal. They were all arrested for crossing the border and entering the Transvaal, then tried and sentenced on September 23, 1913 to three month's imprisonment with hard labour.

The sisters of the Tolstoy Farm who were not arrested for entering the Transvaal, proceeded to Newcastle, the great coal-mining centre of Natal. The majority of labourers of the coal mines hailed from Madras State and spoke Tamil or Telugu. Others hailed from North India. The indentured Indian labourers had to pay an annual tax of £ 3. General Botha had promised Gokhale that the £ 3 tax would be abolished but he did not

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fulfil this promise. The plan was that the Tamil speaking sisters of the Tolstoy Farm should convey this information to the Tamil speaking indentured labourers and advise them to go on strike. The sisters of the Tolstoy Farm carried out the plan very successfully. The pathetic story of the wrongs heaped up by the £ 3 tax, torched the labourers very quickly and they went on strike. Gandhiji received the news by wire and was as much perplexed as he was pleased. He was not prepared for this marvellous awakening.

The activities of the Transvaal sisters in Newcastle enraged the Government which decided that they should no longer be left free. They were all arrested and sentenced, on October 21, 1913, to imprisonment for three months with hard labour, and kept in the same prison where the Phoenix party was lodged.

The women's bravery was beyond words. In the Maritzburg jail, where they were all kept, they were considerably harassed. Their food was of the worst quality. They were given laundry work as their task. No food was permitted to be given to them from outside nearly till the end of their jail term. It was an absolutely pure sacrifice that was offered by these sisters, who were innocent of legal technicalities. Many of them had no idea of the motherland; their patriotism was based only upon faith.

As already stated the labourers working in the mines near Newcastle started their agitation on the issue of £3 tax. This was early in the month October 1913. The news of imprisonment of the women in Maritzburg jail added fuel to the flames and a large number of labourers of the mines downed their

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tools and entered the city in the succeeding batches. These labourers had no houses of their own. The mine-owners had erected houses for them, set up lights upon their roads and supplied them water. When they proceeded on a strike in large numbers the mine-owners stopped electricity and water-supply to their houses. This news also reached Gandhiji by wire. He visualized the whole situation very clearly and decided that he must go to Newcastle immediately so as to render necessary help to the striking labourers. He at once left Phoenix for Newcastle.

As soon as Gandhiji reached Newcastle, the striking labourers surrounded him and started narrating to him their difficulties. Some said that the mine-owners had not only stopped electricity and water supply but had thrown away their household chattels from their quarters. One Pathan showed his back to Gandhiji and said: "Look here, how severely they have thrashed me. I have let the rascals go for your sake. I am a Pathan and Pathans never take but give a beating."

Gandhiji replied: "Well done, brother. I look upon such conduct alone as pure bravery. We will win through people of your type."

Nevertheless Gandhiji thought to himself that the strike could not continue if many received the same treatment as the Pathan did. Otherwise also, the strikers could not hold on when electricity and water supply and other amenities enjoyed by them have been stopped. He considered the situation from every angle and came to the conclusion that the only possible course for the labourers would be to leave their master's quarters and live in the open like pilgrims. He conveyed his decision the labourers who met him, and made it clear to them that:

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1. they should take it that their strike was to last for all time and leave the quarters provided by their masters;
2. they must sell such of their goods as could find a purchaser; the rest they must leave in their quarters;
3. they should bring nothing with them, except their wearing apparel and blankets;
4. those who could not summon courage enough to take this line of action should return to work;
5. none should despise or harass those who thus resumed their work.

The labourers listened to Gandhiji with rapt attention and without a murmur. From that very day, there was a continuous stream of "pilgrims who retired from the household life to the houseless one" along with their wives and children with bundles of clothes upon their heads.

The strikers had to stay only in the open, the sky was the only roof over their heads. Luckily the weather was favourable, there being neither rain nor cold. The traders of Newcastle, whom Gandhiji knew well, supplied bags of rice, dal and cooking pots. Other persons also showered rice, dal, vegetables, condiments and other things. The contribution exceeded Gandhiji's expectations. Those who could not give anything served as volunteers, who were required to look after those obscure and uneducated men. They rendered priceless help.

Originally the *Satyagraha* was started by Gandhiji only for the repeal of the Black Act and for the removal of the racial bar from the Emigration Act. Gokhale's interview with the ministers

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of the Union Government helped him to make the £3 tax also as one of the targets of the *Satyagraha*. Justice Searle's judgment too came in handy for him. So it occurred to Gandhiji that time was ripe to start a mass movement in order to get all the problems solved.

The strength of the strikers had crossed, by that time, the figure of five thousand. It was a very difficult task to keep them in one place and look after them properly, particularly when they had no employment. After a very careful consideration of the whole matter he decided that all the labourers who were on strike should be treated as '*Satyagrahi pilgrims*' on the march. He then consulted the labourers who had their wives and children with them. Some of them hesitated to agree to his proposal. He therefore declared that those who wished to return to the mines were free to do so. But none of them was ready to avail himself of this liberty. It was finally decided that those who were disabled in their limbs should travel by rail. This was agreed to. All able-bodied persons announced their readiness to march on foot.

While preparations for the march were in progress, Gandhiji received an invitation to meet the mine-owners and he went to Durban and talked to them. They wanted that Gandhiji should advise the labourers to return to work. Gandhiji said: "You can fight the labourers' battle for them. If you ask the Government to take off the £3 tax, I do not think that they will refuse to do it. You can also educate European opinion on the question."

Clarifying the position of the labourers, Gandhiji further said: "The labourers have gone on strike after due deliberation,

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and with a full consciousness of the losses which would accrue to them. I cannot conceive a greater loss to a man than the loss of his self-respect, and it is a matter of deep satisfaction to me that the labourers have realized this fundamental principle."

The mine-owners understood the weakness of their case, for they had already put themselves in communication with the Government. Gandhiji returned to Newcastle and clearly explained the whole matter to the labourers. He again said that they were still free to return to work if they wished. He told them about the threats held out by the coalmine-owners and pictured before them the risks of the future. He pointed out that no one could tell them when the struggle would end. He described to them the hardship of jail but they did not flinch. They fearlessly replied that they would not be down-hearted so long as Gandhiji was fighting by their side. They asked him not to be anxious about them as they were inured to hardships.

Gandhiji finally informed the *Satyagrahi* pilgrims, in the evening on October 27, 1913, that they were to commence the march early next morning. The rules to be observed during the march were read out to them and they were asked to note down the rules very carefully. It was no joke to control a multitude of over five thousand persons. Gandhiji's experience of the Boer War and the Zulu 'rebellion' stood him in good stead on this occasion.

Group leaders were nominated. Each one of them had to take care of fifty persons. The following points were explained to them again and again:

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1. None of the 'pilgrim' should keep with him more clothes than necessary.
2. None should touch anyone's property on the way.
3. They should bear it patiently if any official or non-official European abused or even flogged them.
4. They should allow themselves to be arrested if the police wanted to arrest them.
5. The march must continue even if Gandhiji was arrested.

Gandhiji also announced the names of those who should successively lead the '*Satyagrahi pilgrims*' in his place in the event of his being arrested.

All these arrangements were duly completed before midnight on Monday, the 27th of October, 1913 and early in the morning of the 28th of October, 1913 commenced the Great March of the *Satyagrahi* pilgrims punctually at the appointed hour. Gandhiji said that he "could not afford to give anything on the road beyond a daily ration of one pound and a half of bread and an ounce of sugar to each 'soldier'."

The caravan safely reached Charlestown, the border village of Natal. It was a small village with a population of 1000 souls and could never accommodate the *Satyagrahi* pilgrims. Only women and children were lodged in houses there. All the rest camped in the open.

Gandhiji's co-worker Kallenbach was already there in Charlestown. And so was Miss Schlesin whose industry, accuracy and honesty were beyond all praise. P.K. Naidoo, Albert

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Chirstopher and other trusted friends of Gandhiji were also there, working very hard and rendering valuable help.

The traders in Charlestown helped Gandhiji in every possible way. They gave him the use of their houses and permitted to make cooking arrangements on the grounds of the mosque there. They supplied rice and dal in sufficient quantity, and also vegetables. A temporary kitchen was soon set up and necessary arrangements were made speedily. Gandhiji was the leader among the cooks. He shouldered the responsibility for the food being well or ill-cooked. Cooking started without delay. For want of time and cooking pots, vegetables were mixed with dal. Kitchen was active all the twenty four hours, hungry men could arrive at any time of the day or night.

Gandhiji noted that serving the food was more difficult than cooking it. He had to satisfy every member of the caravan and at times he had to cut down the individual ration when there was too little food ready and more than the expected number of diners. Once some sisters gave him an angry look when he gave them too little food. In order to soothe them he said: "I am helpless. The quantity cooked is small, and as I have to feed many, I must divide it equally between them." The sisters grasped the seriousness of the situation and left smiling, saying that they were content.

Once Gandhiji had to face the District Health Officer, Dr. Briscoe, who was alarmed at the phenomenal increase in the population of Charlestown. Gandhiji explained to him the situation, and he cooled down. Instead of adopting any stringent measures, he made some suggestions and offered to help him. Dr. Briscoe asked him to see that no water was

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thrown on the roads and to prevent his men from dirtying the place or throwing away refuse indiscriminately. He further suggested that the men should be confined to the area assigned to them and that they should hold themselves responsible for keeping that area clean. Gandhiji thankfully accepted his suggestions and was then at perfect ease.

The good Dr. Briscoe gave an improvised small medical chest to Gandhiji with some instruments which even a layman could handle. He carried this chest with the least possible quantity of medicines which would enable him to treat even a hundred persons at the same time. He had proposed to encamp everyday near some village and he hoped to get the drugs recouped there, if run short.

Bread and sugar constituted their sole ration during the period of 'march'. The bread was to be distributed to the *Satyagrahi* pilgrims every day. They could not hold any of it in stock. A large European bakery in Volksrust willingly contracted to supply fresh bread at each stage. The baker did not take advantage of their awkward plight to charge them higher than the market rates and supplied bread made of excellent flour. He sent it in time by rail, and the railway officials, also Europeans, not only honestly delivered it but they took good care of it in transit and also gave them some special facilities. They knew that the 'pilgrims' harboured no enmity in their hearts, intended no harm to any living soul, and sought redress only through self-suffering.

Gandhiji says: "The atmosphere was pure. The feeling of love which is dormant, though present in all mankind, was roused into activity. Every one realized that we are all brothers

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whether we are ourselves Christians, Jews, Hindus, Musalmans or anything else."

The next camp was going to be at Volksrust, the border village of the Transvaa.. Gandhiji wrote to the Government that the *Satyagrahis* did not propose to enter the Transvaal with a view to domicile, but as an effective protest against the minister's breach of pledge and as a pure demonstration of distress. He assured the Government that if they repealed the £ 3 tax, the strike would be called off and the indentured labourers would return to work. He also made it clear that these labourers will not join the general struggle directed against the rest of the grievances of the Indians. The Government did not care to send a reply.

Gandhiji's plan was that the 'army of peace', if not arrested on the way, should march twenty to twenty four miles a day for eight days together with a view to reach Tolstoy Farm, and to stop there till the struggle was over, and in the meantime to maintain themselves by working in the Farm. Mr. Kallenbach had made all the necessary arrangements for this purpose.

When all the preparations for the 'march' from Charlestown were completed, Gandhiji decided to phone to General Smuts, who was at that time in Pretoria, with a view to make one more effort to achieve a settlement. He called his secretary and said: "Tell General Smuts that I am fully prepared for the march. The Europeans in Volksrust are excited and perhaps likely to violate even the safety of our lives. They have certainly held out such a threat. I am sure that even the General would not wish any such event to happen. If he promises to abolish the £ 3 tax, I will stop the march, as I will not break the law

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merely for the sake of breaking it but I am driven to it by inexorable necessity. Will not the General accede to such a small request?"

Gandhiji received the reply within half a minute: "General Smuts will have no thing to do with you. You may do just as you please." He had fully expected this reply though he was not prepared for the curtness of the reply. The position was now quite clear to him.

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CHAPTER XXXI

THE GREAT MARCH

The next day, November 6, 1913, at the appointed stroke of the hour 6:30 A.M. the *Satyagrahi* pilgrims offered prayers and commenced the Great March in the name of God. The pilgrim band was composed of 2037 men, 127 women and 57 children.

The whole group was well-organized. Moving forward in a systematic way it arrived at the strait, situated at a distance of one mile from Charlestown. One had to tread this strait and the narrow path after it to enter Volksrust, the border village of the Transvaal. A small patrol of mounted policemen was on duty at the border gate. Gandhiji went upto them, leaving instructions with the *Satyagrahi* 'army' to cross over the strait only when he signalled to them. But while he was still talking with the police, the pilgrims made a sudden rush and crossed the strait. The police surrounded them but the surging multitude was not easy to control. The police had no intention of arresting them. Gandhiji pacified the pilgrims and got them to arrange themselves in regular rows. Everything was brought to order within a few minutes and the march into the Transvaal began peacefully without any interruption.

Two days before this, the Europeans of Volksrust held a meeting where they offered all manner of threats to the Indians. Some said that they would shoot the Indians if they entered

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the Transvaal. Mr. Kallenbach attended this meeting to reason with the Europeans who were, however, not prepared to listen to him. Indeed some of them even stood up to assault him. One European challenged him to a duel. Kallenbach replied:

> "As I have accepted the religion of peace, I cannot accept the challenge. Let him who will come and do his worst with me. But I will continue to claim a hearing at this meeting. You have publicly invited all Europeans to attend, and I am here to inform you that not all Europeans are ready as you are, to lay violent hands upon innocent men. There is one European who would like to inform you that the charges you level at the Indians are false. The Indians do not want what you imagine them to do. The Indians are not out to challenge your position as rulers. They do not wish to fight with you or to fill the country. They only seek justice, pure and simple. They propose to enter the Transvaal not with a view to settle there, but only as an effective demonstration against the unjust tax which is levied upon them. They are brave men. They will not injure you in person or in property. They will not fight with you, but will enter the Transvaal even in face of your gunfire. They are not the men to beat a retreat from the fear of your bullets or your spears. They propose to melt, and I know they will melt your hearts by self-suffering. This is all I have to say. I have had my say and I believe that I have rendered you a service. Beware and save yourselves from perpetrating a wrong."

With these words Mr. Kallenbach resumed his seat. The audience was rather abashed. The pugilist who had invited Mr. Kallenbach to single combat became his friend.

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Gandhiji had heard about this meeting and was prepared for any mischief by the Europeans in Volksrust. It was possible that the large number of policemen massed at the border was intended as a check upon them. However that may be, the 'pilgrims' procession passed through the place peacefully. No European attempted even a jest. All were out to witness the novel sight, while there was even a friendly twinkle in the eyes of some of them.

On the first day the 'pilgrims' were to stop for the night at Palmford about eight miles from Volksrust and they reached the place at about five in the evening. The pilgrims took their ration of bread and sugar, and spread themselves in the open air. Some were talking while others were singing bhajans. Some of the women were thoroughly exhausted by the march. They had dared to carry their children in their arms and it was impossible for them to proceed further. Gandhiji therefore kept them as lodgers with a good Indian shopkeeper who promised to send them to Tolstoy farm if the *Satyagrahi* pilgrims were permitted to go there, or to their homes if the 'marchers' were arrested.

As the night advanced, all noises ceased and Gandhiji was preparing to retire, he saw a European police officer coming quietly with a lantern in hand. Gandhiji understood what it meant. The officer said: "I have a warrant of arrest for you. I want to arrest you." Gandhiji said: "I will go with you without informing any one, but I will leave some instructions with one of my co-workers. Where will you take me?" The police officer said: "To the adjoining railway station now, and to Volksrust when we get a train for it."

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Gandhiji roused P. K. Naidoo, who was sleeping near him and informed him about his arrest. He asked Naidoo not to awake the pilgrims before morning. At daybreak and before sunrise they must regularly resume the march, and when it was time for them to halt and get their rations he should break to them the news of his arrest.

Gandhiji went with the police officer. They took the train to Volksrust the next morning. Gandhiji appeared before the Court in Volksrust, but the Public Prosecutor himself asked for a remand until the 14th of November as he was not ready with the evidence. Gandhiji applied for bail. The Public Prosecutor opposed his application but the Magistrate released Gandhiji on bail of £50. Mr. Kallenbach who was already in Volksrust got the news of Gandhiji's arrest, and he attended the Court when the case of Gandhiji came up for hearing before the Magistrate. He had a car ready for Gandhiji and he took him at once to rejoin the 'pilgrims'. The special reporter of the *Transvaal Leader* wanted to go with them, and they took him in the car. He published a vivid description of the case, the journey and of the meeting with the pilgrims who received Gandhiji with enthusiasm and joy.

The march continued but the Government did not like to leave Gandhiji in a state of freedom. He was re-arrested at Standerton on 8th December. There was something rather strange about the manner of his arrest here. He was distributing bread to the pilgrims. The Indian storekeepers at Standerton presented to Gandhiji some tins of marmalade (a type of jam) for distribution among the pilgrims. The distribution of the bread was therefore taking more time than usual. Meanwhile a Magistrate

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known to Gandhiji arrived and stood by Gandhiji's side. He waited till the distribution was over and then called him aside. He laughed and said: "You are my prisoner." Gandhiji also laughed and said: "It seems that I have received promotion in rank, as magistrates take the trouble to arrest me instead of mere police officials. Will you try me just now?" The Magistrate replied: "Go with me. The Courts are still in session."

Gandhiji asked the pilgrims to continue their march, and then left with the Magistrate. As soon as he reached the Court room, he found that some of his co-workers had also been arrested. Five of them were there, P.K. Naidoo, Biharilal Maharaj, Ramnarayan Sinha, Raghu Narasu and Rahimkhan. Gandhiji applied for remand and bail on the same ground as in Volksrust. Here too his application was strongly opposed by the Public Prosecutor and here too he was released on his own recognizance of £50 and the case was remanded till the 21st of December. The Indian traders had kept a carriage ready for him and he rejoined the pilgrims again. They had hardly proceeded three miles further. The five co-workers remained in jail.

It may be noted here that the whole pilgrimage (from Newcastle to Tolstoy Farm) had been divided into eight stages. Thus far, they had accomplished the march exactly according to the programme. Another four days' march had to be accomplished. The spirit of the pilgrims rose from day to day. Government too got more and more anxious as to how they should deal with the Indian 'invasion'.

Government saw that Gandhiji's arrest did not dishearten or frighten the pilgrims nor did it lead them to break the peace. If they took to rioting, Government would have an excellent

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opportunity of converting them into food for gunpowder. The firmness of the pilgrims coupled with peacefulness was very distressing to General Smuts. He was planning to arrest the pilgrims before they reach the Tolstoy Farm.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale had left South Africa on November 17, 1912 with the fullest hope that the Union Government of South Africa would settle all the problems of the Indians living there satisfactorily very soon. Since then he was in contact with Gandhiji and he was getting regular reports about the happenings there. When the pilgrims' march was near Johannesburg, Gandhiji received a cable from him stating that Polak should go to India and help him in placing the facts of the situation before the Indian and Imperial Governments. Polak's temperament was such that he would make himself useful wherever he went. He would be totally absorbed in whatever task he undertook. Gandhiji wrote to him about Gokhale's cable and suggested that he should leave for India soon. Polak said that he would not leave without meeting him (Gandhiji) in person and taking full instructions from him. Gandhiji wired to him, saying that he might come if he wished, though in doing so, he would be running the risk of arrest. Polak decided to meet Gandhiji during his march even at the risk of being arrested, and he joined the caravan of pilgrims at Teakworth between Standerton and Greylingstad. Polak had his consultation with Gandhiji while walking with him at the head of the whole body of pilgrims. It was almost 3 o'clock in the afternoon. A Cape cart came and stopped before them, and from it alighted Mr. Chamney, the Principal Immigration Officer of the Transvaal and a police officer. They took Gandhiji somewhat aside and

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the police officer said: "I arrest you." Gandhiji was thus arrested thrice in four days.

"What about the marchers?" asked Gandhiji. "We shall see to it." was the answer. The police officer permitted Gandhiji to inform the marchers about his arrest, and said: "You are now a prisoner and you cannot make any speeches." Gandhiji asked Polak to assume charge of, and go with, the pilgrims. The officer ordered the driver to drive the cart away at full speed. In a moment the pilgrims passed out of Gandhiji's sight. He was taken to Greylingstad, and from there to Heidelberg via Balfour.

The pilgrims, with Polak as leader, resumed their march and halted for the night at Greylingstad where they were met by Sheth Ahmed Muhammad Kachhalia and Sheth Amad Bhayat who had come to know that arrangements were complete for arresting the whole body of marchers. Polak thought for a while that if the Government carries out its plan and arrests all the pilgrims, then his responsibility in respect of the pilgrims would cease, enabling him to reach Durban, even if a day later, to take the steamer for India. But God willed otherwise.

At about 9 o'clock in the morning of the 10th of November the pilgrims reached Balfour where three special trains were drawn up at the station to take them and deport them to Natal. When Mr. Chamney, the Principal Immigration Officer of the Transvaal asked the pilgrims to board the trains, they rather became obstinate. They clearly told him they would board the trains only if Mr. Polak advised them to that effect. Mr. Chamney then approached Mr. Polak and Kachhalia Sheth to help him in arresting them.

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Mr. Polak then explained to the pilgrims the principles of non-violence and Satyagraha and said that jail was the pilgrims' goal and therefore they should appreciate the Government's action to arrest them, and that only thus the *Satyagrahis* could show their quality and bring their struggle to a triumphant end. Accepting the advice of Mr. Polak, the pilgrims entrained peacefully and the three special trains carrying the pilgrims left for Durban.

Mr. Chamney thanked Polak for the assistance he rendered to the authorities. Polak then left for Charlestown to catch the corridor train for Durban. Meanwhile the Union Government changed its mind and reached the decision that Mr. Polak should not be allowed to sail for India and should be arrested along with Mr. Kallenbach who was working most energetically on behalf of the Indians. Mr. Polak was, therefore, arrested in Charlestown whilst waiting for the corridor train. Mr. Kallenbach was also arrested and both of them were confined in Volksrust Jail.

Gandhiji knew nothing of what transpired after he was separated from the pilgrims. This time he was arrested on a warrant issued from Dundee where he was to be prosecuted on the principal charge of inducing indentured labourers to leave the province of Natal. He was, therefore, taken to Dundee by rail the same day. He was tried in Dundee on the 11th of November and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment with hard labour. He had still to take his second trial at Volksrust on the charge of aiding and abetting prohibited persons to enter the Transvaal. Therefore he was taken from Dundee to Volksrust on 13th November. There he was glad to meet Kallenbach and Polak in the jail.

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Gandhiji appeared before the Volksrust Court on the 14th of November. He was arrested on the 6th and produced before the Court on 7th November but the Public Prosecutor was not ready with the evidence on that day and the case was post-poned. Even after the lapse of one week the position remained the same. The Court would not convict a prisoner merely upon his pleading guilty. The police therefore sought Gandhiji's aid in the matter. He produced the evidence and the proceedings against him were completed on the 14th.

But the question arose: who would testify against Kallenbach and Polak? It was impossible to convict in the absence of evidence and it was also difficult to secure witnesses against them. Therefore Gandhiji provided the evidence for the Crown against Mr. Kallenbach, and appeared as witness against Mr. Polak. The proceedings against Kallenbach were completed on the 15th and against Polak on the 17th. The Magistrate passed sentences of three months' imprisonment on all the three. They thought they could stay together in Volksrust jail for three months. But the Government could not afford to allow it. They decided to separate them and to send them away from Volksrust. Gandhiji was sent to the jail in Bloemfontein, the capital of Orangia. He was the only Indian prisoner there, the rest being Europeans and Negroes. Gandhiji was not troubled at this isolation but hailed it as a blessing. The prospect of uninterrupted study for a year filled him with joy. Kallenbach was sent to Pretoria jail and Polak to Germiston jail.

The medical officer of the Bloemfontein jail became Gandhiji's friend. In those days Gandhiji lived upon a diet of bananas, tomatoes, raw groundnuts, limes and olive oil. It

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meant starvation for him if the supply of any one of these things was bad in quality. The doctor was very careful in ordering them out, and he added almonds, walnuts and Brazil nuts to his diet. He inspected everything indented for Gandhiji in person.

Let us now see what happened to the pilgrims who were taken on special trains from Balfour to Durban. On the way, the Government did not care to arrange even to feed them, and when they reached Natal they were prosecuted and sent to jail straightway. But the Government was quite aware that they would have to incur additional expenditure and would appear to have played into the Indians' hands if they kept thousands of labourers in prison. And the coal mines would have to be closed down in the interval. If such a state of things lasted for a long time, the Government would be compelled to repeal the £3 tax. They therefore struck out a new plan. Surrounding the pilgrims with wire netting, the Government proclaimed the mine compounds as outstations to the Dundee and Newcastle jails and appointed the mine-owners' European staff as the warders. In this way they forced the labourers underground against their will and the mines began to work once more. A slave who leaves his master can be brought back to work by force, that was the rule.

But the brave labourers flatly declined to work on the mines with the result that they were brutally whipped. The insolent staff of the mine-owners kicked and abused them and heaped upon them other wrongs. The poor labourers patiently put up with all their tribulations.

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Cablegrams[1] regarding these outrages were sent to India addressed to Gopal Krishna Gokhale who broadcast the news from his sickbed, as he was seriously ill at the time. In spite of his illness, however, he insisted upon attending the South African business of the Congress himself, and was at it at night no less than by day. Eventually all Indian was deeply stirred and the South African question became the burning topic of the day.

Lord Hardinge, the then Viceroy of India made his famous speech in Madras on December 1913, which created a stir in South Africa as well as in England. Lord Hardinge passed severe criticism upon the Union Government of South Africa. He also whole-heartedly defended the action of the *Satyagrahis* and supported their civil disobedience - refusal to obey unjust and invidious legislation. The conduct of Lord Hardinge came in for some adverse comment in England, but even then he did not repent. On the other hand, he asserted the perfect propriety of the step he had been driven to adopt. Lord Hardinge's firmness created a good impression all round.

The mines, where our brave but unfortunate labourers were confined, were situated in the north-west of Natal. But the largest number of Indian labourers was employed in the

1. All the responsible workers of the Phoenix settlement were in jail with the exception of Mr. West, Miss West and Maganlal Gandhi. Mr. West was in-charge of the English section of Indian Opinion and of the cable correspondence with Gokhale. At a time like this, when the situation assumed a new aspect every moment, correspondence by post was out of the question. Cablegrams had to be despatched no shorter in length than letters. The delicate responsibility regarding them was shouldered by Mr. West.

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north and the south coasts. The news of the strike and the arrest of the labourers of the coal mines of Natal soon spread everywhere at lightning speed. The unkind and inhuman attitude of the Government towards the labourers of the coal-mines infuriated their countrymen in the south and north coasts, and about sixty thousand labourers came out of their own accord unexpectedly and spontaneously in support of the 'pilgrim labourers'. Several amongst them posted themselves as volunteers in various places to look after the huge assemblage.

The Government now adopted a policy that was blood-curdling. They prevented the labourers from striking by sheer force. Mounted military policemen chased the strikers and brought them back to their work. The slightest disturbance on the part of the labourers was answered by rifle-fire. A body of strikers resisted the attempt to take them to work. Some of them even threw stones. Fire was opened upon them, wounding many and killing some. But the labourers refused to be cowed down. Some hid themselves and did not return to work.

Gandhiji says that "the treatment accorded by the Government to the strikers on the coast was quite illegal. In respect of the miners, there was at least an appearance of legality about the Government's procedure, who were arrested not for going on strike but for entering the Transvaal without proper credentials. On the north and the south coast, the very act of striking work was treated as an offence not in virtue of any law but of the authority of the Government. Authority takes the place of law in the last resort. There is a maxim in English law that the King can do no wrong. The convenience of the powers that be is the law in the final analysis. This objection is applicable to all governments alike."

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Like Newcastle in the mine area, Phoenix now became the centre of the strikers on the north coast, and was visited by hundreds of them who came there to seek advice as well as shelter. It therefore naturally attracted the attention of the Government.

Mr. West was arrested though there was no reason for arresting him. The authority's very desire to take a step amply sufficed as a reason for adopting it. As soon as the news of the arrest of Mr. West was cabled to Gokhale, he initiated the policy of sending out able men from India to South Africa.

When a meeting was held in Lahore in support of the *Satyagrahis* of South Africa, Mr. C.F. Andrews gave away all the money in his possession in the interest of the *Satyagrahis*. Ever since then Gokhale had had his eye upon him. So, as soon as he got the news of Mr. West's arrest, he inquired of Andrews by wire if he was ready to proceed to South Africa at once. Andrews replied in the affirmative. His beloved friend Pearson also got ready to go the same moment, and the two friends left India for South Africa by the first available steamer. But before they landed at Durban, many developments had taken place in South Africa.

The Union Government had realized that they had not the power to keep thousands of innocent persons in jail; Lord Hardinge, Viceroy, would not tolerate it anymore; and the world was waiting to see what General Smuts would do. No doubt General Smuts saw that there had been injustice which called for remedy, but he was in the same predicament as a snake which has taken a rat in its mouth but could neither gulp it down nor cast it out. Anyway, in order to get rid of the problem

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he appointed a Commission of three members to conduct an inquiry and to make its recommendations to the Government. The Indians pledged themselves to have nothing to do with the Commission so long as certain demands of theirs in respect of the Commission were not granted by the Government. One of these demands was that the *Satyagrahi* prisoners should be released; the other demand was that the Indians should be represented on the Commission by at least one member. The first demand was accepted to a certain extent by the Commission itself which recommended the Government that "with a view to enabling the enquiry to be made as thorough as possible, Mr. Kallenbach, Mr. Polak and Mr. Gandhi should be released unconditionally." The Government accepted this recommendation and released all the three simultaneously on December 18, 1913 after an imprisonment of hardly six weeks. Mr. West was also released as Government had no case against him.

All these events happened before the arrival of C. F. Andrews and Pearson and so Gandhiji was able to welcome them as they landed at Durban. They were agreeably surprised to see Gandhiji as they knew nothing of the events which happened during their voyage. This was Gandhiji's first meeting with these noble Englishmen.

Gandhiji, Kallenbach and Polak also knew nothing of the events which happened when they were in jail. The news of the appointment of the Commission came to them as a surprise. They felt that the Indians should be allowed to nominate at least one representative on the Commission. So they addressed a letter to General Smuts from Durban on December 21, 1913 as follows:-

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"We welcome the appointment of the commission, but we strongly object to the inclusion in it of Messrs Esselen and Wylie. We have nothing against them perso-nally. They are well-known and able citizens. But, as both of them have often expressed their dislike for the Indians, there is likelihood of their doing injustice, without being conscious of it. Man cannot change his temperament all at once. It is against the laws of nature to suppose, that these gentlemen will suddenly become different from what they are. However we do not ask for their removal from the commission. We only suggest that some impartial men should be appointed in addition to them, and in this connection we would mention Sir James Rose Innes and the Hon. Mr. W.P. Schreiner, both of them well-known men noted for their sense of justice. Secondly, we request that all the *Satyagrahi* prisoners should be released. If this is not done, it would be difficult for us to remain outside jail. There is no reason now for keeping the *Satya-grahis* in jail any longer. Thirdly, if we tender evidence before the commission, we should be allowed to go to the mines and factories where the indentured labourers are at work. If these requests are not complied with, we are sorry that we shall have to explore fresh avenues for going to jail."

General Smuts declined to appoint any more members in the Commission and stated that the Commission was appointed not for the sake of any party but merely for the satisfaction of the Government.

After receiving this reply of General Smuts on December 24, 1913 Gandhiji had no alternative but to prepare to go to

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jail. He, therefore, published a notification to the Indians that a party of Indians courting jail would commence its march from Durban on January 1, 1914.

But Gandhiji wrote a letter to the General again, requesting to allow some time to him to place some facts before him, if the Government were out to do justice. General Smuts granted his request for an interview, and the march was postponed for a few days.

When Gokhale heard that a fresh march was under consideration, he sent a long cablegram saying that such a step would land Lord Hardinge and himself in an awkward position and strongly advising Gandhiji to give up the march and assist the Commission by tendering evidence before it.

Mr. Andrews suggested to Gandhiji that he should give full considerations to Gokhale's feelings, his delicate health and the shock that he would receive if his advice is rejected.

Gandhiji's stand was that "the Indians were pledged to a boycott of the Commission if its personnel was not enlarged to their satisfaction. Lord Hardinge might be displeased, Gokhale might be pained but how could we go back upon our pledged word?"

However, the leaders held a conference to consider the matter from different angles, and finally reached the decision that the boycott must stand at any cost if more members were not co-opted to the Commission. Gandhiji then sent a long cablegram to Gokhale, at an expense of about a hundred pounds. Andrews too concurred with the gist of the message conveyed to Gokhale which was as follows:-

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"We realize how you are pained, and would like to follow your advice at considerable sacrifice. Lord Hardinge has rendered priceless aid, which we wish we would continue to receive till the end. But we are anxious that you should understand our position. It is a question of thousands of men having taken a pledge to which no exception can be taken. Our entire struggle has been built upon a foundation of pledges. Many of us would have fallen back today had it not been for the compelling force of our pledges. All moral bonds would be relaxed at once if thousands of men once proved false to their plighted word. The pledge was taken after full and mature deliberation, and there is nothing immoral about it. The community has an unquestionable right to pledge itself to boycott. We wish that even you should advise that a pledge of this nature should not be broken but be observed inviolate by all, come what might. Please show this cable to Lord Hardinge. We wish you might not be placed in a false position. We have commenced this struggle with God as our witness and His help as our sole support. We desire and bespeak the assistance of elders as well as big men, and are glad when we get it. But whether or not such assistance is forthcoming, we are humbly of opinion that pledges must ever be scrupulously kept. We desire your support and your blessing in such observance."

This cable completely satisfied Gokhale. He wired to Lord Hardinge on the matter defending the standpoint. Lord Hardinge too appreciated Gandhiji. He decided to send Sir Benjamin Robertson to South Africa to help him.

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Gandhiji went to Pretoria with Andrews to meet General Smuts. Just at this time there was a great strike of the European employees of the Union railways, which made the position of the Government extremely delicate. Gandhiji was called upon by the railway employees to commence the Indian march at such a fortunate juncture, but he declared that the Indians could not thus assist the railway strikers, as they were not out to harass the Government. The Indians' struggle was entirely for a different purpose and differently conceived. They would begin the march if at all they undertook it, at some other time when the railway trouble ends. This decision of Gandhiji created a deep impression on the Union Government. It was cabled to England by Reuter. Lord Ampthill cabled his congratulations from England. English friends in South Africa too appreciated Gandhiji's decision.

One of the secretaries of General Smuts jocularly said:

> "I do not like your people, and do not care to assist them at all. But what am I to do? You help us in our days of need. How can we lay hands upon you? I often wish you took to violence like the English strikers, and then we would know at once how to dispose of you. But you will not injure even the enemy. You desire victory by self-suffering alone and never transgress your self-imposed limits of courtesy and chivalry. And that is what reduces us to sheer helplessness."

General Smuts also gave expression to similar sentiments. The atmosphere was thus becoming favourable for a settlement.

Sir Benjamin Robertson, the envoy of Lord Hardinge was to arrive at Durban about the same time when Gandhiji was

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to go to Pretoria for meeting General Smuts. It was therefore not possible for him to wait for him. In fact Gandhiji alone was to interview General Smuts, and he presented himself before the General on the day fixed by him.

General Smuts was at that time preoccupied with the railway strike, which was so serious in nature, that the Union Government had declared martial law. The European workmen not only demanded higher wages, but aimed at taking the reins of government into their hands. Nevertheless he was modest while talking to Gandhiji.

The Indians had demanded that a member should be co-opted to the Commission to represent Indian interests. But on this point, General Smuts was not prepared to give in. He said: "That cannot be done, as it would be derogatory to the Government's prestige, and I would be unable to carry out the desired reforms. You must understand that Mr. Esselen is our man, and would fall in with, not oppose, the Government's wishes as regards reform. Colonel Wylie is a man of position in Natal and might even be considered anti-Indian. If therefore even he agrees to a repeal of the £3 tax, the Government will have an easy task before them.

"Our troubles are manifold; we have not a moment to spare and therefore wish to set the Indian question at rest. We have decided to grant your demands, but for this we must have a recommendation from the commission. I understand your position too. You have solemnly declared that you will not lead evidence before it so long as there is no representative of the Indians sitting on the commission. I do not mind if you do not tender evidence, but you should not organize any active

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propaganda to prevent any one who wishes to give evidence from doing so, and should suspend Satyagraha in the interval. I believe that by so doing you will be serving your own interests as well as giving me a respite. As you will not tender evidence, you will not-be able to prove your allegations as regards ill-treatment accorded to the Indian strikers. But that is for you to think over."

On the whole Gandhiji was inclined to receive the suggestions of General Smuts favourably. The Indians had made many complaints about ill-treatment of strikers by soldiers and warders but the difficulty was that they were precluded by a boycott of the Commission from proving their allegations. There was a difference of opinion among the Indians on this point. Some held that the charges levelled by the Indians against the soldiers must be proved and suggested that if the evidence could not be placed before the Commission, then they must challenge libel proceedings by publishing the authentic evidence in their possession. Gandhiji disagreed with these friends saying that firstly there was little likelihood of the Commission giving a decision unfavourable to the Government and secondly challenging libel proceedings would land the community in endless trouble. He further said: "that the *Satyagrahi* is out to suffer; even before *Satyagraha* was started, the *Satyagrahis* knew that they would have to suffer even unto death, and they were ready to undergo such suffering. Such being the case, there was no sense in proving now that they did suffer. A spirit of revenge being alien to *Satyagraha*, it was best for a *Satyagrahi* to hold his peace. A *Satyagrahi* fights only for essentials. The essential thing was that the obnoxious laws should be repealed or suitably amended. And when this was fairly

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within his grasp, he need not bother himself with other things. Again a *Satyagrahi's* silence would, at the time of settlement stand him in good stead in his resistance to unjust laws."

With such arguments Gandhiji was able to win over most of his friends who differed from him and the Indians finally decided to drop the idea of proving their allegations of ill-treatment.

After his interview with General Smuts, Gandhiji decided to place on record from his side, the agreements arrived at, between them, and he addressed a long letter to General Smuts on January 21, 1914 summarized thus:

"We have conscientious scruples with regard to leading evidence before the Commission as constituted at present. You appreciate these scruples and regard them as honourable, but are unable to alter your decision. As, however, you have accepted the principle of consultation with the Indians, I will advise my countrymen not to hamper the labours of the Commission by any active propaganda, and not to render the position of the Government difficult by reviving passive resistance, pending the result of the Commission and the introduction of legislation during the forthcoming session. It will further be possible for us to assist Sir Benjamin Robertson who has been deputed by the Viceroy.

"As to our allegations of ill-treatment during the progress of the Indian strike in Natal, the avenue of proving them through the Commission is closed to us by our solemn declaration to have nothing to do with it. As *Satyagrahis* we endeavour to avoid, as far as possible, any

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resentment of personal wrongs. But in order that our silence may not be mistaken, may I ask you to recognize our motive and reciprocate by not leading evidence of a negative character before the commission on the allegations in question?

"Suspension of *Satyagraha*, moreover, carries with it a prayer for the release of *Satyagrahi* prisoners.

"It might not be out of place here to recapitulate the points on which relief has been sought:

1. Repeal of the £3 tax;
2. Legalization of the marriages celebrated according to the rite of Hinduism, Islam, etc.;
3. The entry of educated Indians;
4. Alteration in the assurance as regards the Orange Free State;
5. An assurance that the existing laws especially affecting Indians will be administered justly, with due regard to vested rights.

"If you view my submission with favour, I shall be prepared to advise my countrymen in accordance with the tenor of this letter."

General Smuts' reply of the same date (viz. January 21, 1914) was to this effect:

"I regret but understand your inability to appear before the Commission. I also recognize the motive which makes you unwilling to revive old sores by courting libel

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proceedings before another tribunal. The Government repudiates the charges of harsh action against the Indian strikers. But as you will not lead evidence in support of those allegations, it would be futile for the Government to lead rebutting evidence in vindication of the conduct of its officers. As regards the release of *Satyagrahi* prisoners, the Government had already issued the necessary orders before your letter arrived. In regard to the grievances summarized at the end of your letter, the Government will await the recommendations of the Commission before any action is taken."

Mr. Andrews and Gandhiji had had frequent interviews with General Smuts before these letters were exchanged. Mean while Sir Benjamin Robertson too arrived at Pretoria and he brought a letter of recommendation from Gokhale. A provisional agreement was reached to suspend the *Satyagraha*. Many English friends were glad of this and promised their assistance in the final settlement. It was rather difficult to get the Indians to endorse the agreement. They felt that with a man like General Smuts, settlement was possible only if he actually delivered the goods. Meetings were held in various places to discuss the issues, and at last Gandhiji was able to persuade the Indians to approve of the terms of the agreement, telling them that Mr. Andrews was the mediator and the witness in the agreement which was arrived at in the presence of Sir Benjamin Robertson as representing the Government of India, and that therefore was the least possible likelihood of the agreement being subsequently repudiated.

Gandhiji took this opportunity to explain to his co-workers the spirit of *Satyagraha* and said: "Distrust is a sign of weakness

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and *Satyagraha* implies the banishment of all weakness and therefore of distrust, which is clearly out of place when the adversary is not to be destroyed but to be won over. Forgiveness is an ornament to the brave." Without raising any further objection the 'brave' Indians endorsed the agreement.

Meanwhile the Commission started its work. Only very few witnesses appeared before it on behalf of the Indians, furnishing striking evidence of the great hold which the *Satyagrahis* had acquired over the Indian community. Sir Benjamin Robertson tried to induce many to tender evidence but failed except in the case of a few who were strongly opposed to *Satyagraha*. The boycott of the Commission did not produce any bad effect. Its work was shortened and its report was published at once. The Commission strongly criticized the Indians for withholding their assistance and dismissed the charges of misbehaviour against the soldiers, but recommended compliance without delay with all the demands of the Indian community. The report of the Commission was favourable to the Indians as predicted by General Smuts.

Mr. Andrews left for England and Sir Benjamin Robertson for India. The Indians received an assurance that the requisite legislation would be brought soon with a view to implement the recommendations of the Commission.

Within a short time of the issue of the Commission's report, the Government published in the official Gazette of the Union, the Indians Relief Bill which was to effect a settlement of their longstanding dispute with the Indians. Gandhiji went at once to Cape Town where the Union Parliament used to meet.

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The Indian Relief Bill contained 9 sections.

One part of it dealt with the question of Indian marriages, and validated in South Africa the marriages which were held legal in India, except that if a man had more wives than one, only one of them would be recognized as his legal wife in South Africa.

The second part of it abolished the annual license of £3 to be taken out by every indentured Indian labourer who failed to return to India and settled in the country as a free man on the completion of his indenture.

The third part provided that the domicile certificates issued by the Government in Natal and bearing the thumb-impression of the holder of the permit should be recognized as conclusive evidence of the right of the holder to enter the Union as soon as his identity was established.

There was a long and pleasant debate over the bill in the Union Parliament and the bill was duly passed.

Administrative matters which did not come under the Indians Relief Bill were settled by correspondence between General Smuts and Gandhiji, as for example;

1. Safeguarding the educated Indians' right of entry into the Cape Colony;
2. Allowing 'specially exempted' educated Indians to enter South Africa;
3. Safeguarding the status of educated Indians who had entered South Africa within the last three years; and

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4. Permitting existing plural wives to join their husbands in South Africa.

All these matters were settled before the end of June 1914.

Thus the great Satyagraha struggle which commenced in September 1906 came to an end after eight years.

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CHAPTER XXXII

HOMEWARD JOURNEY

After fully satisfying himself that the Indians settled in South Africa could live peacefully there, Gandhiji decided to start his homeward journey. Gokhale was in England at that time and he had asked Gandhiji to return home via London. So, on July 18, 1914 Kasturbai and Gandhiji, along with Kallenbach, sailed for England and they reached London on the 6th of August 1914.

Gandhiji completed this journey "with mixed feelings of pleasure and regret, pleasure because he was returning home after many years and eagerly looked forward to serving the country under Gokhale's guidance, regret because it was a great wrench for him to leave South Africa, where he had passed twenty-one years of his life sharing to the full in the sweets and bitters of human experience, and where he had realized his vocation of life."

Two days before Gandhiji reached London, i.e. on the 4th of August 1914, the First World War was declared. Gokhale had gone to France for reasons of health when the War broke out and he was left stranded in Paris. As communication between Paris and London had been cut off, there was no knowing

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when he would return. Gandhiji did not want to return home without having seen him. He felt at that time that "Indians residing in England ought to do their bit in the war. English students had volunteered to serve in the army, and Indians might do no less." A number of objections were taken to this line of argument. It was contended that there was a world of difference between the Indians and the English. The Indians were slaves and they were masters. How could a slave co-operate with the master in the hour of the latter's need? Was it not the duty of the slave seeking to be free to make the master's need his opportunity?

This argument failed to appeal to Gandhiji at that time. He knew the difference of status between an Indian and an Englishman, but he did not believe that the Indians had been quite reduced to slavery. His feeling at that time was more the fault of the individual British officers than of the British system and that we could convert them by love and thereby we would improve our status.

The opposing friends felt that that was the hour for making a bold declaration of Indian demands and for improving the status of Indians. Gandhiji thought that "England's need should not be turned into an opportunity." He wrote a letter to Lord Crewe, Secretary of State for India offering his services to the Empire and expressing his readiness to be trained for ambulance work, if that should be considered a condition precedent to the acceptance of the offer.

Lord Crewe accepted the offer after some hesitation, and thanked Gandhiji for having tendered his services to the Empire at that critical hour.

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About eighty volunteers had joined Gandhiji's group (Corps) and they began their preliminary training in first aid to the wounded under the well-known Dr. Cantlie. It was a short course of six weeks, but it covered the whole course of first aid.

At the end of six weeks all of them were examined. All except one passed. For these the Government provided military drill and other training. Colonel Baker was placed in charge of this work.

London in those days was a sight worth seeing. There was no panic, but all were busy helping to the best of their ability. Able-bodied adults began training as combatants. There was enough work for the old, the infirm and the women also if they wanted. So they employed themselves in cutting and making clothes and dressings for the wounded.

The Lyceum, a ladies' club, undertook to make as many clothes for the soldiers as they could. Shrimati Sarojini Naidu was a member of this club, and threw herself whole-heartedly into the work. This was Gandhiji's first acquaintance with her. She placed before Gandhiji a heap of clothes which had been cut to pattern, and asked him to get them all sewn up and return them to her. Welcoming her demand and with the assistance of his friends Gandhiji got as many clothes made as he could manage during the period of training for first aid.

Unfortunately Gandhiji had an attack of pleurisy at this time. Dr. Jivraj Mehta, who was in England prosecuting higher studies, treated him. Gandhiji was making experiments in dietetics since a long time. These experiments were going on even after his departure from South Africa. While he was in England his diet consisted, among other things, of groundnuts,

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ripe and unripe bananas, lemon, olive oil, tomatoes and grapes. He had completely eschewed milk, cereals, pulses and other things. Dr. Jivraj Mehta pressed him hard to resume milk and cereals, but Gandhiji was obdurate.

Gokhale returned to London soon after. Gandhiji and Kallenbach used to go to him regularly. Their talks were mostly about the war. Kallenbach had the geography of Germany at his finger tips and had travelled much in Europe. He used to show Gokhale, on the map, the various places in connection with the war. One day the matter relating to the diet of Gandhiji and the advice given by Dr. Jivraj Mehta to him, reached Gokhale's ears. Gokhale had not much regard for Gandhiji's reasoning in favour of fruitarian diet, and he wanted Gandhiji to take whatever the doctor prescribed for his health. Gandhiji begged him to give him twenty-four hours for thinking over the question. He spent the whole night thinking over the matter. To give up the experiment meant renouncing all his ideas in that direction. He found no flaw in them. He got up in the morning with the determination to adhere to his resolve to abstain from milk. This greatly relieved him. He dreaded to approach Gokhale but he trusted that he would respect his decision.

In the evening Kallenbach and Gandhiji called on Gokhale at the National Liberal Club. The first question Gokhale asked was: "Well, have you decided to accept the doctor's advice?" Gandhiji gently but firmly replied: "I am willing to yield on all points except one about which I beg you not to press me. I will not take milk, milk-products or meat. If not to take these things should mean my death, I feel I had better face it."

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"Is this your final decision" asked Gokhale.

"I am afraid I cannot decide otherwise, I know that my decision will pain you but I beg your forgiveness" said Gandhiji.

With a certain amount of pain but with deep affection, Gokhale said: "I do not approve of your decision. I do not see any religion in it. But I won't press you anymore." With these words he turned to Dr. Jivraj Mehta and said: "Please don't worry him anymore. Prescribe anything you like within the limit he has set for himself."

Dr. Jivraj expressed dissent but was helpless. He advised Gandhiji to take *mung* soup, with a dash of asafoetida in it. To this Gandhiji agreed. He took it for a day or two but it increased his pain. He did not find it suitable. He went back to fruits and nuts. The doctor, of course, went on with his external treatment which somewhat relieved his pain but his restrictions were to him a sore handicap.

Meanwhile Gokhale left for India as he could not stand the October fog of London.

The persistence of the pleurisy caused some anxiety to Gandhiji. He felt that the cure lay not in taking medicine internally but in dietetic changes assisted by external remedies. He called in Dr. Allinson of Vegetarian fame, who treated diseases by dietetic medications and explained to him how he had pledged himself not to take milk. Dr. Allinson cheered him up and said: "You need not take milk. In fact I want you to do without fat for some days." He then advised Gandhiji to live on plain brown bread, raw vegetables such as beet, radish, onion and other tubers and greens, and also fresh fruits, mainly

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oranges. The vegetables were not to be cooked but merely grated fine, if he could not masticate them.

Gandhiji adopted this for about three days, but raw vegetables did not quite suit him. His body was not in a condition to enable him to do full justice to the experiment. He was nervous about taking raw vegetables.

Dr. Allinson also advised him to keep all the windows of his rooms open for the whole twenty-four hours, bathe in tepid water, have an oil massage on the affected parts and walk in the open for fifteen to thirty minutes. All these measures somewhat improved his health but did not completely cure him.

Dr. Allinson, when he next called, relaxed his restrictions and permitted him to have groundnut butter and olive oil for the sake of fat, and to take the vegetables cooked, if he chose, with rice. These changes also were far from giving him a complete cure. Very careful nursing was still necessary and he was obliged to keep mostly in bed. Dr. Jivraj Mehta occasionally looked in to examine him. He had held out a standing offer to cure him only if he would listen to his advice.

While things were going on in this way, his friend Mr. Roberts came one day to see him. He minutely noticed the conditions through which Gandhiji was passing and said: "You cannot possibly go to Netley in this condition. There is still severe cold ahead of us. I would strongly advise you to get back to India, for it is only there that you can be completely cured. If, after your recovery, you should find the war still going on, you will have many opportunities there of rendering

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help. As it is, I do not regard what you have already done as by any means a mean contribution."

Gandhiji accepted his advice and began to make preparations for returning to India.

Mr. Kallenbach had accompanied Gandhiji to England with a view to going to India. They were staying together and, of course, wanted to sail by the same boat. Germans, however, were under such strict surveillance that they had their doubts about Mr. Kallenbach getting a passport. Gandhiji did his best to get it and Mr. Roberts, who was in favour of Kallenbach's getting his passport, sent a cable to the Viceroy in this behalf. But straight came Lord Hardinge's reply: "Regret Government of India not prepared to take any such risk."

It was a great wrench for Gandhiji to part from Mr. Kallenbach but he could see that Kallenbach's pang was greater. Could he have come to India, he would have been leading a simple happy life of a farmer and weaver.

Dr. Jivraj Mehta bandaged Gandhiji's ribs with 'Mede's Plaster' and asked him not to remove it till they reached the Red Sea.

Then on December 19, 1914, Kasturbai and Gandhiji sailed for India by the steamer *Arabia* and arrived in Bombay on January 9, 1915. For two days Gandhiji put up with the discomfort created by the bandage, but on the third day he managed, of course with considerable difficulty, "to undo the plaster and regain the liberty of having a proper wash and bath."

Gandhiji's diet during the voyage consisted mostly of nuts and fruits. He found that he was improving every day and felt

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very much better by the time they entered the Suez Canal. He was weak but entirely out of danger. He gradually went on increasing his exercise, gaining more and more strength every day. He attributed the improvement largely to the pure air of the temperate zone. It can be said that the very thought that they would be in their motherland after an exile of ten years worked as a tonic to both Kasturbai and Gandhiji. And when they landed at Bombay on the 9th of January 1915, both of them were blooming with health and happiness. They were given a joyful and a hero's welcome by the residents of Bombay, both elite and common people.[1]

Gokhale had sent word to Gandhiji that the Governor was desirous of seeing him, and that it might be proper for him to respond before he left for Poona. Accordingly Gandhiji called on His Excellency Lord Willingdon. After the usual inquiries, the Governor said: "I ask one thing to you. I would like you to come and see me whenever you propose to take any steps concerning Government."

Gandhiji replied: "I can very easily give the promise, inasmuch as it is my rule, as a *Satyagrahi*, to understand the viewpoint of the party I propose to deal with and to try to agree with him as far as may be possible. I strictly observed the rule in South Africa and I mean to do the same here."

The Governor thanked Gandhiji and said: "You may come to me whenever you like and you will see that my Government do not wilfully do anything wrong."

1. Gandhiji was at that time in Kathiawadi suit of clothes consisting of a shirt, a dhoti, a cloak and a white scarf, all made of Indian mill cloth.

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To which Gandhiji replied: "It is that faith which sustains me."

After this Gandhiji went to Poona to meet Gokhale who had summoned all the members of the Servants of India Society. All of them overwhelmed Gandhiji with affection, and he had a frank talk with them on every sort of subject. Gokhale was very keen that Gandhiji should join the Servants of India Society. But other members of the Society felt that there was a great difference between Gandhiji's ideals and the methods of work and that of the Society.

Gokhale told Gandhiji, "The members of the Society have not yet understood your readiness for compromise. They are tenacious of their principles, and quite independent. I am hoping that they will accept you, but if they don't, you will not for a moment think that they are lacking in respect or love for you. They are hesitating to take any risk lest their high regard for you should be jeopardized. But whether you are formally admitted as a member or not, I am going to look upon you as one."

Gandhiji informed Gokhale of his intentions and said: "Whether I am admitted as a member or not, I want to have an Ashram where I would settle down with my Phoenix family, preferably somewhere in Gujarat. Being a Gujarati, I think I am best fitted to serve the country through serving Gujarat."

Gokhale liked the idea and said: "You should certainly do so. Whatever may be the results of your talks with the members, you must look to me for the expenses of the Ashram, which I will regard as my own."

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Gandhiji says: "My heart overflowed with joy. It was a pleasure to feel free from the responsibility of raising funds, and to realize that I should not be obliged to set about the work all of my own, but that I should be able to count on a sure guide whenever I was in difficulty. This took a great load off my mind."

"So Dr. Dev was summoned and told to open an account for me in the Society's books and to give me whatever I might require for the Ashram and for public expenses."

Gokhale also took from Gandhiji a promise that he should travel in India for gaining experience, and express no opinion on public questions till he had finished the period of probation of one year. Even after the year is over, he should be in no hurry to speak and pronounce opinions.

From Poona Gandhiji went to Rajkot and Porbandar where he had to meet his brother's widow and other relatives. Then he proceeded to Shantiniketan. The teachers and students of Shantiniketan overwhelmed Gandhiji with affection.

The Phoenix party which had reached India earlier than Gandhiji was for some time in Gurukul Kangri and then was put up in Shantiniketan under the care of Andrews. Maganlal Gandhi who was the head of the party had made it his business to see that all the rules of the Phoenix Ashram were scrupulously observed. Gandhiji noticed that, by dint of his love, knowledge and perseverance, he had made his fragrance felt in the whole of Shantiniketan. Gandhiji had hardly been there for a week with the Phoenix family, when he received from Poona a telegram announcing Gokhale's death. Shantiniketan was

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immersed in grief. (Gokhale breathed his last on February 19, 1915).

A special meeting was called in The Ashram temple to mourn the national loss. It was a solemn function. The same day Gandhiji left for Poona with his wife and Maganlal. All the rest stayed at Shantiniketan. Andrews accompanied them up to Burdwan.

After the performance of the *shraddha* ceremonies of Gokhale, members of the Servants of India Society started discussing the future of the Society and also the question as whether Gandhiji should join it or not. As advised by Gokhale, Gandhiji had made an application for admission as a member of the Society. The situation had changed after his demise. Most of the members of the Society were in Poona at that juncture. Gandhiji set about pleading with them and tried to dispel their fears about him. One section favoured his admission while the other was strongly against it. The section that was opposed to Gandhiji held that they and Gandhiji were as the poles asunder in various vital matters, and that his membership was likely to imperil the very objects for which the Society was founded. This naturally was more than they could bear. Here it must be mentioned that the discussions were free from bitterness, and strictly confined to matters of principle. After prolonged discussions, the final decision was postponed to a later date.

Gandhiji was considerably agitated as he returned home. He did not want to be admitted by a majority vote. He felt that the best course for him, under the existing circumstances, would be to withdraw his application for admission. He

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immediately wrote to Sri V.S. Srinivasa Sastri (who had succeeded Gokhale as the President of the Servants of India Society) asking him not to have the adjourned meeting at all. Those who had opposed his application fully appreciated his decision. It saved them from an awkward position. Gandhiji says: "It is true that I did not officially become a member of the Society but I have ever been a member in spirit. Spiritual relationship is far more precious than physical. Physical relationship divorced from spiritual is body without soul."

After coming to a final decision with regard to the Servants of India Society, Gandhiji left for Rangoon to meet his friend Dr. P. J. Mehta. On his return from Rangoon to Calcutta he decided to go to Haridvar and other places. He undertook this journey particularly to meet Mahatma Munshiramji who was in his Gurukul at that time. As soon as Gandhiji reached the Gurukul, he felt "the wonderful contrast between the peace of the Gurukul and the din and noise of Haridvar."[1]

From the Gurukul, Gandhiji went to Lakshman Jhula and Hrishikesh. Many *sanyasis* called on Gandhiji at Hrishikesh. One of them was particularly attracted towards Gandhiji. They had discussions about religion and the Swami realized that Gandhiji was deeply interested about the matters of religion.

Gandhiji had, at that time, just returned from his bath in the Ganges and he was bareheaded and shirtless. The Swami noticed that Gandhiji had no sacred thread (*yagnopaveet*) and the *shikha* and he said: "It pains me to see you, a believing Hindu, going without a sacred thread and the *shikha*. These

1. Mahatma Munshiramji came to be known as Swami Shraddhanand in later years.

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are the two external symbols of Hinduism and every Hindu ought to wear them.

"As a *vaishnava*, Gandhiji had worn round his neck the *kanthi*. On the eve of his going to England, however, he got rid of the *shikha* thinking that he should not look a barbarian in the eyes of the Englishmen. And so he made a clear breast of the whole matter to the Swami and said: "I will not wear the sacred thread, for I see no necessity for it, when countless Hindus can go without it and yet remain Hindus. Moreover the sacred thread should be a symbol of spiritual regeneration, presupposing a deliberate attempt on the part of the wearer at a higher and purer life. I doubt whether in the present state of Hinduism and of India, Hindus can indicate the right to wear a symbol charged with such a meaning. That right can come only after Hinduism has purged itself of untouchability, has removed all distinctions of superiority and inferiority, and shed a host of other evils and shams that have become rampant in it. My mind therefore rebels against the idea of wearing the sacred thread. But I am sure your suggestion about the *shikha* is worth considering. I once used to have it and I discarded it from a false sense of shame. And so I feel that I should start growing it again."

The Swami did not appreciate Gandhiji's stand with regard to the sacred thread. The very reasons advanced by Gandhiji for not wearing the sacred thread appeared to him to favour its wearing.

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CHAPTER XXXIII

FOUNDING OF THE SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM

The Phoenix party had arrived in India before Gandhiji. According to his original plan he was to have preceded them but his preoccupation in England with the war had upset all his calculations. He was faced with the question of finding a place for accommodating the Phoenix party. He wanted them all to stay together in India, if possible, and to live the life they had had at Phoenix. He did not know any Ashram to which he could recommend them to go. Therefore he cabled to them to meet Mr. C.F. Andrews and do as he advised.

Mr. Andrews first put them in the Gurukul Kangri Ashram under the care of Swami Shraddhanandji. After some time they were put in the Shantiniketan Ashram, where Mr. Andrews himself was staying. When Gandhiji landed in Bombay he learnt that the Phoenix party was at Shantiniketan. So, soon after meeting Gokhale at Poona, he left for Shantiniketan. He had hardly been there for a week when he got the sad news of Gokhale's demise. Gandhiji, Kasturbai and Maganlal immediately left Shantiniketan for Poona.

Gandhiji had already told Gokhale that whether he was admitted as a member of the Servants of India Society or not, he wanted to have an Ashram where he could settle down

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with his Phoenix family, preferably somewhere in Gujarat. He had a predilection for Ahmedabad. Many friends pressed him to settle down there and they volunteered to find the expenses of the Ashram, as well as a house for him to live in. Gandhiji thought that as Ahmedabad was an ancient centre of handloom weaving, it was likely to be the most favourable field for the revival of the cottage industry of hand-spinning. There was also the hope that the city being the capital of Gujarat, monetary help from the wealthy citizens would be more available there than elsewhere. Considering all these points he finally decided to found the Ashram at Ahmedabad.

The first thing he had to settle was the name of the Ashram. Amongst the names suggested were '*Sevashram*' (the abode of service), '*Tapovan*' (the abode of austerities) and '*Satyagraha Ashram*'.

Gandhiji liked the name '*Sevashram*' but for the absence of emphasis on the method of service. '*Tapovan*' seemed to be a pretentious title, because though *tapas* was dear to him, all the inmates of the Ashram could not presume to be *tapasvins* (men of austerity).

Gandhiji's creed was devotion to truth, and the business was the search for and insistence on truth. He wanted to acquaint India with the method he had tried in South Africa and he desired to test in India the extent to which its application might be possible. So he and his companions selected the name '*Satyagraha Ashram*' as carrying both their goal and their method of service.

For the conduct of the Ashram, a code of rules and observances was necessary. A draft of the rules was proposed and

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friends were invited to express their opinions on it. One friend suggested that humility should be added as one of the observances as he believed that the younger generation sadly lacked humility. Gandhiji says: "Though I noticed this fault, I feared humility would cease to be humility the moment it became matter of vow. The true connotation of humility is self-effacement. Self-effacement is *moksha* (salvation), and whilst it cannot, by itself, be an observance, there may be other observances necessary for the attainment of *moksha*. If the acts of an aspirant after *moksha* or a servant have no humility or selflessness about them, there is no longing for *moksha* or service. Service without humility is selfishness or egotism".

Jivanlal Desai, a barrister in Ahmedabad was the principal man to Gandhiji in this regard. He offered to let his Kochrab bungalow for accommodating the Ashram and Gandhiji decided to hire it.

'*Satyagraha Ashram*' started functioning from May 25, 1915. There were in all about twenty-five men and women in the Ashram at that time. All had their meals in a common kitchen and strove to live as one family.

Within a few months, after the Ashram came into existence, Gandhiji received a letter from Amritlal Thakkar to this effect: "A humble and honest untouchable family is desirous of joining your Ashram. Will you accept them?"

Gandhiji had never expected that an untouchable family with an introduction from no less a man than Thakkar Bapa would so soon be seeking admission to the Ashram. He shared the letter with his companions. They welcomed it. Then he wrote to Amritlal Thakkar expressing willingness to accept the

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family provided all the members of that family were ready to abide by the rules of the Ashram.

The family consisted of Dudabhai, his wife Danibehn and their daughter Lakshmi, then a mere toddling babe. Dudabhai had been a teacher in Bombay. They all agreed to abide by the rules and were accepted.

But their admission created a flutter amongst the friends who had been helping the Ashram. The very first difficulty was found with regard to the use of the well, which was partly controlled by the owner of the bungalow. The man in charge of the water lift objected that drops of water from the bucket of the Ashram would pollute him, and he started molesting Dudabhai and abusing others. Gandhiji asked everyone to put up with the abuse and continue drawing water at any cost. When he saw that the Ashram people did not return his abuse, he became ashamed and ceased to bother them.

All monetary help, however, was stopped. With the stopping of monetary help came rumours of proposed social boycott of the Ashram. Gandhiji told his companions: "If we are boycotted and denied the usual facilities, we would go and stay in the untouchables' quarters or live on whatever we could get by manual labour."

After the lapse of some days Maganlal Gandhi brought to the notice of Gandhiji that they are out of funds and there would be nothing for the next month. Gandhiji quietly replied: "Then we shall go to the untouchables' quarter."

Shortly after that, one morning, one of the children came and informed Gandhiji that a Sheth who was waiting in a car

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outside wanted to see him. Gandhiji went out to meet the Sheth. "I want to give the Ashram some help. Will you accept it?" said the Sheth.

Gandhiji replied: "Most certainly. I confess I am at the present moment at the end of my resources." The Sheth left saying: "I shall come tomorrow at this time." Next day exactly at the appointed hour, the car drew up near the Ashram. The horn was blown. The children came with the news. The Sheth did not come in. Gandhiji went out to see him. He placed in Gandhiji's hands currency notes of the value of Rs 13000/- and drove away. This unexpected help deferred the exodus of the inmates of the Ashram to the untouchables' quarters. Gandhiji felt quite safe for a year. This was not the first time that Gandhiji had been faced with such a trial. On all such occasions God had sent help at the last moment.

Gandhiji says: "The admission of the family of Dudabhai proved a valuable lesson to the Ashram. In the very beginning we proclaimed to the world that the Ashram would not countenance untouchability. Those who wanted to help the Ashram were thus put on their guard, and the work of the Ashram in this direction was considerably simplified. The fact that it is mostly the real orthodox Hindus who have met the daily growing expenses of the Ashram is perhaps a clear indication that untouchability is shaken to its foundation. There are indeed many other proofs of this, but the fact that good Hindus do not scruple to help an Ashram where we go to the length of dining with the untouchables is no small proof."

The *Satyagraha Ashram* was functioning well in Kochrab up to 1917. In the year 1917 Plague broke out in this village

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and there was evident danger to the safety of the Ashram children. It was impossible to keep the Ashram people immune from the effects of the surrounding insanitation, however scrupulously the Ashram people might observe the rules of cleanliness within the Ashram walls. The Ashram was therefore shifted to a place situated on the bank of the river *Sabarmati* in July, 1917. From that time onwards, the Ashram came to be known as *Sabarmati Ashram*.

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CHAPTER XXXIV

BOMBAY SESSION OF THE CONGRESS

The 30th session of the Congress was to be held in Bombay in December 1915. A month before that, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta passed away in November 1915. Thus, the Congress suffered the loss of two great personalities (Gokhale and Pherozeshah) in the same year.

The President-elect for the year was Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, whose position and learning were of an unchallengeable character. He was an ex-Law Member of the Government of India who had not cared to stick to his high office even for half of his term. His association with the Congress movement was indeed little and he was new to his duties as Congress President but with the co-operation of the elderly Congressmen, he brought to the Bombay session all the prestige that it deserved.

It may be recalled here that the partition of Bengal put into effect in October 1905 brought almost a cleavage between two schools of politics in the national Congress, the Moderates and the Extremists, represented respectively by Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Bal Gangadhar Tilak. This cleavage was discernible at the Banaras session of the Congress held in December 1905, and it became wider and more manifest at the next year's Congress session held in Calcutta in December 1906.

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In the next year's session held in Surat in December 1907 the split between the two groups was irrevocably proclaimed. The President elect Rash Behari Ghose could not deliver his presidential address and the session was totally disrupted. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta took an active part on the Moderate side in Surat.

On the occasion of the King's Coronation celebrations in India, the Partition of Bengal was annulled on 12th December 1911. Attempts were then made to bring together the two groups – the Moderates and the Extremists - but the gulf between them could be bridged only in the Congress session held in Bombay in December 1915. This was really a significant achievement in the national interest.

No less than 2259 delegates attended this session and the resolutions that were passed covered a large variety of subjects. As mentioned in the History of the Congress "the Congress resolutions of 1915 were an epitome of the resolutions which had been passed from time to time by all the Congresses held ever since its birth in 1885."

Gandhiji also attended this session of the Congress but he strictly followed the advice of his 'mentor and political guru' Gokhale who had counselled him against active participation in politics until he had thoroughly studied India and its multitudinous problems. No doubt he was watching the whole proceedings of the Congress with rapt attention.

An interesting feature of the Congress of 1915 was that Gandhiji could not be elected to the Subjects Committee, and therefore he was nominated to this Committee by the President under the powers vested in him under the Constitution.

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Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, though intensively pre-occupied with the work of the Hindu University, did not fail to attend the Bombay session. He must have met Gandhiji and extended to him his personal invitation to attend the Foundation Laying ceremony of the Hindu University.

Mention may be made here about another important matter. While the Congress session was duly held in Bombay with S.P. Sinha as President, the Muslim league also was holding its session in Bombay simultaneously. There was ample evidence of good fellowship and fraternization between the two communities. The organizers of both the bodies wore similar badges on which were inscribed both a crescent and lotus to indicate the alliance of the two faiths in the service of the motherland. Many Congress leaders, including Pandit Malaviya, attended the session of the Muslim league while top Muslim leaders were not only welcomed but were treated with marked honour and distinction at the Congress session.

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Mahatma Gandhi and Mahamana Malaviya

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PART — III

MAHAMANA AND MAHATMA

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CHAPTER I

MAHAMANA AND MAHATMA

We have read a lot about Mahamana Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mahatma Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi in Part I and Part II of this book. We have learnt a lot about their ideas, their conduct, their ideals, their mission and their goal. Now we are going to see how they worked together when they both met, what are their similarities, how they worked for the same purpose i.e. freedom of India, how they differed in some issues, what the differences of opinion were, and how they agreed to disagree on some issues. With all their difference of opinions they respected each other and had deep concern for each other's well-being.

The word *Mahamana* is a Sanskrit word which means large-hearted where the word *Maha* means great or large and the word *Mana* means heart. V.V. Narlikar wrote in his article published in the University magazine named *Prajna* of 1976-77 that it is said in Chandogya Upanishad,

"महान्कीर्त्या महामनाः स्यात्तद्व्रतम्" (2-11-2)

which means "great with fame, his holy vow is that he should be high-minded." 'With malice towards none, with charity towards all' his large-heartedness was reflected in his vision

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that he had not on by his creation, the University, but of every young man and woman studying on the campus. Further he said that once Dr. C. Y. Chintamani said that Malaviyaji was a *Dharmatma* and deserved to be recognized as such by all. It was years later that he began to be generally recognized as *Mahamana*. It is generally believed that Rabindranath Tagore was the first to call him *Mahamana*. He was truly such a person and used to say,

"आत्मनः प्रतिकूलानि परेषां न समाचरेत्।
यद्यदात्मनि चेच्छेत तत्परस्यापि चिन्तयेत्॥"

That is, what you don't wish to be done to yourself, don't do to others. And whatever one desires for oneself, that one should desire for others also. He practiced this precept strictly in his life.

The word Mahatma is taken from the Sanskrit words *Maha* meaning Great and *Atma* meaning Soul. Gandhiji was truly a Great soul. Rabindranath Tagore is said to have accorded or popularized this title for Gandhiji. (In his autobiography Gandhiji nevertheless explains that he never valued this title, and was often pained by it.) He used to say,

"वैष्णव जन तो तेने कहिये जे पीड पराई जाणे रे।"

That means:- He is a true Vaishnavite (one who believes in God Vishnu) who knows the sorrow of others.

Great men think alike. Here is one example. Malaviyaji and Gandhiji never took fees from the poor for pleading their cases in the Courts. They also invariably tried to settle these disputes out of court.

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We have read in chapter XII of part I that it was well known that Madan Mohan Malaviya before taking up any case, would discuss with both the parties and put in all efforts to settle the issue outside the court itself, by mutual consent. He never took fees for cases of the poor and for common welfare. He never accepted cases, where he has to speak lies.

Again, in chapter XVIII of part II, we learnt that where poor people were concerned, Gandhiji charged very low fees or did not charge at all. He always advised his clients to settle with their opponents out of court.

In chapter II of part II we read about the case of Sheth Tyab Hajikhan Muhammad and Dada Abdulla Sheth. Gandhiji saw that the litigation, if allowed to continue, would ruin both the plaintiff and the defendant, who were relatives and also belonged to the same city. He strained every nerve to bring about a compromise.

Gandhiji writes: "Both were happy over the result, and both rose in the public estimation. My joy was boundless. I had learnt the true practice of law. I had learnt to find out the better side of human nature and to enter men's hearts. I realized that the true function of a lawyer was to unite parties riven asunder. The lesson was so indelibly burnt into me that a large part of my time during the twenty years of my practice as a lawyer was occupied in bringing about private compromises of hundreds of cases. I lost nothing thereby—not even money, certainly not my soul."

Malaviyaji renounced his lucrative practice in order to have all his time free to concentrate in the establishment of the

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Banaras Hindu University and to devote to political work. The same way Gandhiji also threw up his practice to serve the nation and to devote his full time for the freedom struggle.

Both Malaviyaji and Gandhiji were ready to help others whenever the need arose. For example, the infectious epidemic plague which showed its appearance in 1896 at Bombay, spread fast to other cities of the country, mostly larger and sacred towns of the north eastern Province, Malaviyaji came forward to help the needy. Allahabad was also affected by the epidemic. As explained earlier, the preventive and curative work done by the Municipal Board under the chairmanship of Malaviyaji was remarkable. Malaviyaji took keen interest and effort to contain the epidemic by improving the amenities and facilities in the plague camps. He personally visited the camps and enquired about the condition of the inmates. Despite illness, he continued his task for the welfare of the people.

In the same way, when there was a sudden outbreak of black plague also called pneumonic plague in South Africa, Gandhiji helped the people. Readers will recall the chapter XVI of part II where it is narrated how Madanjit bravely broke open the lock of a vacant house and put all the patients there and sent a pencil-note to Gandhiji asking him to come there immediately and take further measures. Gandhiji at once cycled to the location, and wrote to the Town Clerk to inform him of the circumstances in which they had taken possession of the house. The Town Clerk expressed his gratitude to Gandhiji for having taken charge of the vacant house and the patients.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was elected president of the Congress session due to be held at Lahore in the last week of December 1909. As Congress President, Malaviyaji

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received a message from Gandhiji, then in Transvaal, South Africa, embodying the principle of *Satyagraha* and dilating on its supreme efficacy. He stated clearly:

"It is the only weapon suited to the genius of our people and our land which is the nursery of the most ancient religions and has very little to learn from modern civilization."

In reply Malaviyaji, as the President of the Congress, sent the following cable to Gandhiji:

"Congress deeply appreciates and admires the heroic struggle of the brethren. Urges continuance and promises utmost support. Cabling funds. Have cabled General Botha to grant relief."

This was probably the first contact that Malaviyaji had with Gandhiji.

In the year 1911, Malaviyaji proposed the name of Gandhiji for the President-ship of the Congress which is clear from a letter dated October 30, 1911 written by Gandhiji to Gopal Krishna Gokhale, from Johannesburg, South Africa, quoted below:

"The first intimation I had of my name being seriously discussed in connection with the Congress President-ship was a telegram from the Natal Indian Congress, advising me that it had received an invitation for me to preside at the forthcoming session, and urging me strongly to accept the invitation. My reply was in negative. I enquired about the name of the sender of the invitation. Much to my surprise, the names sent were those of yourself, and Mr. Malaviya."

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CHAPTER II

GANDHIJI'S SPEECH

At an auspicious time on 4th February 1916, Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General and Viceroy, laid the foundation-stone of the Banaras Hindu University in the presence of a distinguished assembly of Governors, the Ruling Princes and the elite of India.

On 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th February 1916, a series of lectures planned by Malaviyaji, which was in the nature of University Extension Lectures, was delivered at the Central Hindu College, in the morning and evening by distinguished specialists under the president-ship of Ruling Princes and attended by a large audience.

In the evening of 6th February, 1916, Maharaja Sir Rameshwar Singh Bahadur of Darbhanga presided over the lectures. The special feature of this meeting was the presence of Gandhiji who had just returned from South Africa and had come to Banaras to attend the foundation-stone laying ceremony on the invitation of Malaviyaji. Mrs. Annie Besant was the first speaker. After Mrs. Besant had concluded her eloquent speech, the Chairman, Maharaja Sir Rameshwar Singh requested Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi - he had not yet become known as Mahatma - to speak. Introducing Gandhiji, the Hon'ble Maharaja of Darbhanga said:-

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"I have very great pleasure in introducing to you, if introduction were needed at all, Mr. M. K. Gandhi. I know how superfluous is my preliminary function of presenting him to you, for his name is well-known in every part of this wide country. He has not been merely preaching fellowship between man and man; he has lived in his own life the lesson of his teaching. He has given up luxury and comfort in order to be in greater and more vital communion with his people; he keeps up his sustenance on the simplest food, in order that he might, as he says, "compete with the poorest". How much of sympathy, how much of sincerity is there in the phrase ! And the phrase and the sentiment are quite characteristic of Mr. Gandhi. Born in affluence, bred in luxury and comfort, he has yet relinquished everything that is not an absolute necessity, just that he may be of the greater use to his fellowmen.

"South Africa has produced no martyr greater than Mr. Gandhi; and no one else at the helm of Indian affairs in South Africa could have steered through storm and stress so success-fully and smoothly. To Young India, therefore, there can be no greater ideal or loftier example than that of Mr. Gandhi. I now call upon him to address the meeting."

Gandhiji who was clad in a short, coarse dhoti, Kathiawadi cloak and turban rose to speak. The police precautions and the luxury around him hurt him deeply. Gandhiji began by saying that he would 'think aloud' and literally did so. Addressing himself mainly to the students, Gandhiji said that while many people in India were not unnaturally desirous of Self-Government, yet they did not all quite realize that we must first

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deserve and then desire; that we must make ourselves morally, mentally and physically clean and fit, before we aspired for Self-Government; and that when we were thus clean and fit by achievement of the inner Self-Government, we should get the outer one without fail. It would come to us of itself without any one having to ask for it or having to give it to us. As an instance of our lack of readiness in this respect, he mentioned the dirty condition of the lanes of Banaras, particularly in the heart of the Sacred Town, the site of the Temple of Vishwanath which should be its cleanest spot. "If even our temples are not models of roominess and cleanliness what can our Self-Government be?" he asked. He confessed to a sense of shame that he had to address an Indian audience in a foreign language and regretted that every body else had done the same.

Then he called upon all to avoid carefully the taint of all that was cowardly and despicable, like skulking anarchism and secret assassination. He urged all to adopt plain living so as to be able to serve the people. He condemned the pomp and jewellery displayed by the ruling Princes which contrasted with the grinding poverty of their people.(Notwithstanding the fact that these were the people who gave donations to build the Banaras Hindu University.)

Finally, he expressed his strong disapproval of the heavy security arrangements made for the Viceroy due to which the city was filled with secret service men. Different sections of the audience reacted differently to these remarks.

The purport of Gandhiji's speech was obviously intended to condemn all anarchical methods and repressive administrative

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measures which only made matters worse and which took all concerned further and further away from the true remedy for grievances.

But somehow, something in his words, something in the manner of his expressing— in that particular 'time, place and circumstance'— what otherwise would have been accepted as obvious truths by every thoughtful person, seemed to have jarred upon some in the audience. The consequence was that there were interruptions.

As Gandhiji was speaking, the atmosphere grew more and more tense and in the middle of the speech, the Chairman suddenly got up and left. The Maharaja of Alwar and other Princes also left. The meeting broke up. The speech was not properly concluded.

Malaviyaji then made a speech saying that some of the speaker's remarks had been misunderstood. He explained that what Gandhiji had said was that owing to the misdeeds of some misguided youths, arrangements had to be made for the Viceroy's safety which did not redound to the credit of the administration; that Gandhiji had condemned bombs and assassinations and that he was a well-known person whom Government itself delighted to honour. After this the meeting dispersed.

Even after all these unpleasant moments Malaviyaji was not agitated, and he peacefully went on to ask Gandhiji about his experiences in South Africa. Then he assured Gandhiji that the temple which he is planning to build in the Banaras Hindu University will be clean and neat and it will be upto his expectations.

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Gandhiji himself explained what he meant, in a letter which he wrote on 7th February, 1916 to Maharaja of Darbhanga before leaving Banaras the next day.

The Pioneer, 9-2-1916 reported on the events under the caption: "The Hindu University: A Remarkable Incident" as follows:

"Speaking last night at one of the lectures delivered in connection with the University Week in Banaras, Mr. Gandhi referred to the precautions taken by the authorities to protect the Viceroy while he was in Banaras. Mr. Gandhi was asked to explain briefly what he was about to say. Eventually, all the princes present left in a body, and, though Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya explained that what Mr. Gandhi meant was that it was a shame to themselves that such a course was thought necessary because of the misdeeds of a few misguided youths, the meeting dispersed at once.

Mr. Gandhi, today, wrote a letter of explanation to the Maharaja of Darbhanga in which, after expressing his regret at last night's incident, he says:

"My sole object in referring to the Viceregal visit was to express the very strong views I hold against all acts of violence and so-called anarchy. In common with most of us, I felt deeply humiliated that extraordinary precautions should have been rendered necessary for the protection of the person of one of the noblest of Viceroys when he was, in a special sense, our honoured guest in this sacred city. My mission in life is to preach and assist in securing the utmost freedom for my country but never by violence to the person of any human being, even

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under the greatest provocation. My speech was conceived to instil this lesson into the hearts of young men."

The Maharaja of Darbhanga, who presided over the morning lectures today, at which almost all the princes now in Banaras were present, made a brief reference to last night's incident. He observed that they had heard with grief and pain, the remarks of Mr. Gandhi and he was sure they all disapproved the attitude Mr. Gandhi had taken up." (Voices: "We all disapprove.")

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CHAPTER III

THE ROWLATT BILLS

The Rowlatt Bills were introduced on 6th February, 1919 in the Legislative Council. They were two in number, the Criminal Law Amendment Bill and the Criminal Law Emergency Powers Bill. They were together called the Rowlatt Bills, after Justice Sir Sydney Rowlatt of the Kings Bench, who was the Chairman of the Committee on whose recommendation the Bills were based.

The Rowlatt Committee was appointed on December 10, 1917 to enquire into the nature of revolutionary activity and to suggest measures for dealing with it effectively after the conclusion of the war when the Defence of India Act and other Emergency laws would lapse. The Committee's report was published in July 1918, and was severely condemned at the special session of the Congress at Bombay in August.

Rowlatt Committee's report was laid before the Legislative Council in September, 1918. Malaviyaji joined in the determined attempt then made to prevent action being taken on it. Public opposition to the bills had started even before they were introduced in the Legislative Council. There were meetings in different parts of the country to protest against the bills.

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Malaviyaji presided over one such public meeting in Bombay on February 3, 1919 under the auspices of Home Rule League.

Mohandas Gandhi, among other Indian leaders, was extremely critical of the Act and argued that not everyone should be punished in response to isolated political crimes. He wrote a letter to Malaviyaji about his decision from Bombay on 8th February, 1919. The letter is given below:-

Dear brother,

"I read all the speeches on the Rowlatt Bills today. I was much distressed. The Viceroy's speech is disappointing. Under the circumstances, I hope, at any rate, that all the Indian members will leave the Select Committee or, if necessary, even the Council, and launch a countrywide agitation. You and other members have said that if the Rowlatt Bills are passed a massive agitation would be launched the like of which has not been seen in India. Mr. Lowndes (Sir George Lowndes, Law Member, Government of India) said that the Government were not afraid of the agitation that is going on. He is right.

"Even if you held a hundred thousand meetings all over India what difference would it make? I am not yet fully decided but I feel that when the Government bring in an obnoxious law the people will be entitled to defy their other laws as well. If we do not now show the strength of the people, even the reforms we are to get will be useless. In my opinion you should all make it clear to the Government that so long as the Rowlatt Bills are there you will pay no taxes and will advise the people also not to pay them. I know that to give such advice is to assume a great responsibility. But unless we do something

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really big they will not have any respect for us. And we cannot hope to get anything from people who do not respect us. What the Viceroy has said about the Civil Service and about British trade does not seem right to me. The power of the Civil Service must be drastically curtailed. And it is certain that the protection the British are giving to their trade will not be available to it, after India becomes independent. Today they enjoy far more rights than we do."

During the heated debate at the introduction of the bills in the Legislative Council Malaviyaji made an impassioned speech. His speech opposing the introduction of the bill lasted two hours during which he criticized its provisions exhaustively. After these strenuous efforts, the second bill was abandoned, which provided for the imprisonment of a person found in possession of seditious literature with the intention to publish or circulate it. The other bill, the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, also was considerably amended.

The bill that passed into law came to be called Rowlatt Act under which the Government had the authority and the power to arrest persons and keep them in prison without any trial if they were suspected of planning offences against the State; they could alternatively be asked to reside in particular areas under specified conditions and could be called upon to furnish security for doing so or for abstaining from such activity. Persons charged with anarchical crimes could under this law be tried summarily by a court of three High Court Judges against whose order no appeal was permitted. Persons already in detention under the Defence of India Act could be kept in continued detention. This bill was intended to take the place of the

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Defence of India Act which was due to expire six months after the end of the War i.e. in May 1919. Such being its penal provisions, It was called as the Black Bill which had no use for any lawyer, argument or appeal.

Malaviyaji wrote to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy requesting that the operation of the Act be held up for six months, which period, he probably thought would suffice for campaigning for the reforms, and was told by the Viceroy, "You have killed the Bill. I am not going to put it in force". The Act could operate only after the Viceroy declared an area as prone to seditious activity.

Gandhiji was deeply hurt by the introduction of the Rowlatt Bills. He argued that it was not right to frame drastic legislation for the whole of India because political crimes occurred in a few places. He called on the Viceroy but failed to persuade him to withdraw them. On February 24 he announced his intention to launch a Satyagraha movement in case the bills became law. He had toured the country extensively and was received with great respect everywhere. Many Satyagraha samitees were organized whose members took a Satyagraha pledge as given below:-

The Satyagraha Pledge

Ahmedabad

February 24, 1919

"Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bills known as the Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill No. 1 of 1919 and the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill No. II of 1919 are unjust, subversive of the principle of liberty and justice, and

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destructive of the elementary rights of individuals on which the safety of the community as a whole and the State itself is based, we solemnly affirm that, in the event of these Bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other laws as a Committee to be hereafter appointed may think fit and we further affirm that in this struggle we will faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property."

The pledge was drafted on 24-2-1919 and signed by those present at the meeting held at Sabarmati Ashram, i.e. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Bar-at-law, Chandulal Manilal Desai, L.D.S., Kesariprasad Manilal Thakoor, (Behn) Anasuyabai Sarabhai, and others.

The 30th of March, 1919 was fixed to be a day of 'Hartal'. On that day there was to be nationwide suspension of work, fasting and prayer. Peaceful meetings and processions were to be organized to convince Government of the people's resentment. Later, the date was changed to 6th April, but the change not being notified in Delhi in time, processions and hartals were held in Delhi, and shooting took place there. At one point Swami Shraddhanand , who was leading the procession, was threatened by troops on duty and he bared his chest to receive the shot which was, however, never fired. At the Delhi Railway Station, a scuffle arose ending in shooting, causing five deaths.

Gandhiji was deeply hurt and he sent telegram to Malaviyaji from Bombay on or before 3rd April, 1919, as follows:-

"In view of what appears to be slaughter of innocents at Delhi, in my opinion you cannot remain silent on it whether

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you join the movement or not. I hope you and all leaders will speak out what you feel in no uncertain terms. In opposing Rowlatt legislation, Satyagrahis are resisting the spirit of terrorism that lies behind it. The blood of the innocents has laid a heavy responsibility upon Satyagrahis and I doubt not that they will give a good account of themselves. Please share this with Pandit Motilal Nehru and other friends."

Gandhi

Malaviyaji was among the handful of leaders who entertained doubts about the faithful implementation of the programme. Mrs. Besant, who knew the mind and pulse of the Indian people expressed her doubt about the success of the Satyagraha pledge at this stage and warned Gandhiji about the negative effect of this programme. A few days later, after careful deliberation and considerable thought, Rabindranath Tagore also expressed his doubt and advised Gandhiji to abjure the civil disobedience movement.

Malaviyaji was also of the same mind. He hesitated to sign the Satayagraha pledge and chose an alternative mode of expressing his protest. He tendered his resignation of membership of the Legislative Council from Allahabad by a letter dated April 4, 1919, stating merely that:-

"Having given the matter my most anxious and careful consideration, I regret I have been driven to the conclusion that in view of the attitude which the Government considered it necessary to adopt in the matter of what is known as the Rowlatt Bill, and the proceedings of the Council in relation thereto, I ought not to continue to be an additional member of the Council as it is constituted at present. I, therefore, beg

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respectfully and with deep regret, to resign my office as such member."

The demonstrations on the 6th of April were held on a country-wide scale and passed off peacefully. There was a total hartal at Malaviyaji's home town, Allahabad. Malaviyaji addressed a public meeting on the 10th of April at the premises of the Home Rule League describing the peaceful observance of hartal all over the country. He said, around fifty thousand people had gone on fast.

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CHAPTER IV

SWADESHI MOVEMENT

Swadeshi movement was a popular policy to remove the British rule and to improve the economic conditions of the country. The concept of Swadeshi as explained by Gandhi is employment of unemployed or semi-employed people by encouraging village industries. Gandhi decided to popularize the spinning wheel in India to make hand-spun cloth out of Khadi. The intention was to reduce India's dependence on foreign made cloth. This movement called *The Khadi Movement* later gained fame by the term *Swadeshi.* The main objectives of the Swadeshi movement included boycotting all types of British products and the revival of all domestic products. The overall experiment was towards building a non-violent society.

When the repressive measures adopted by the Government authorities compelled the people of Bengal to boycott foreign goods as the last protest, Malaviyaji moved the resolution in the Subjects Committee and during his speech thereafter he said:-

"We ought not to mix up Swadeshi with boycott. It is a great mistake to mix up the two. Bengal was partitioned a short while ago. But Swadeshi movement is as old, within my own personal knowledge, as thirty years.

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The doctrine was practiced when I was at school and I adopted it the moment I entered College and have benefited by it. That movement stands on quite a different footing and it would be wrong to confuse the Swadeshi movement with boycott."

In the course of his speech on the resolution of the Calcutta session of 1906, moved by Ambika Charan Majumdar, Malaviyaji made an eloquent plea for Swadeshi, calling it a religious duty of every Indian and the one means of saving the masses from starvation. The following appeared as parts of his speech:-

"What is it that drives us to think of it? As I have said before, our extreme and deplorable poverty. Millions die of famine, millions fall victim to plague, millions never attain to manhood but die premature death by reason of not being able to get sufficient to live upon. There is no question that deaths from famine are preventable; deaths from plague are preventable. I say so from personal knowledge of what happened in my own city where people who moved out of the city in what is called the Civil Station where bungalows have been built, were free from plague. Deaths from famines and plague are all results of poverty.....Articles of foreign manufacture, of great and immense value are flooding the markets of the whole country. The raw-material of the country is exported and after being finished in other countries, it is brought back and we have to pay tremendous prices for it. The average income of our people per head of population is barely £2 a year as against £40 in England.

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"If we had a potent voice in the administration of the country we should have rejoiced to introduce Protection but we have it not. England did so when it was necessary; U.S.A. did so, Australia did so, Germany did so and other countries have adopted protection in order to let their nascent industries grow but we are situated differently.

"When there was a depression of trade in England in 1882 Lord Dunraven, if I remember aright, raised a great debate in the House of Lords actually advocating the adoption of a policy of protection. The *Pioneer* advocated the adoption of the Swadeshi pledge by Englishmen. It actually said that if Englishmen want to find food for their own countrymen who are starving they will have to resort to such a movement.

"Germans have partially destroyed indigo production, and are flooding the market with sugar. Seven and half crores worth of sugar was imported in this country last year. There is enough of sugarcane growing in this country..... There is no element of disloyalty or hatred in the Swadeshi movement; there is no political bias."

Malaviyaji was advocating Swadeshi, boycott of foreign commodities and protective tariffs.

Gandhiji said:

"The swadeshi of our conception safeguards both *dharma* and *artha*. Not to be able to serve our own neighbours, our own kith and kin—to wrest a morsel from their mouths and put it into those of strangers, surely this would not be serving the higher end of life, this would

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not be compassion. That would only mean our deserting our own field of duty. We are therefore, morally bound to encourage our sisters who spin and our weavers. In the process, we shall be sending 60 crores of rupees to the homes of our starving millions and this will safeguard *artha*. The swadeshi dharma is thus the royal road for safeguarding both our dharma and *artha*.

"We can follow this only if we take to hand-spinning and hand-weaving. The true and genuine swadeshi movement, therefore, consists in increasing the production of yarn, getting the yarn woven and then marketing the cloth thus produced. It is, therefore my suggestion to all lovers of swadeshi and to all owners of swadeshi stores that they should get women to spin and should popularize the cloth woven out of the yarn they produce. I know that this work is difficult and heartbreaking. But no progress is ever possible without our venturing on a path beset with difficulties."

Gandhiji said "..... the music of the spinning-wheel is very sweet and we can hear it again. Slowly but surely the music of perhaps the most ancient machine of India is once more permeating society. Pandit Malaviyaji has stated that he is not going to be satisfied until the ranis and the maharanis of India spin yarn for the nation, and the ranas and the maharanas sit behind the handlooms and weave cloth for the nation. They have the example of Aurangzeb who made his own caps. A greater emperor—Kabir—was himself a weaver and has immortalized the art in his poems. The queens of Europe, before Europe

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was caught in Satan's trap, spun yarn and considered it a noble calling. The very words, spinster and wife, prove the ancient dignity of the art of spinning and weaving. 'When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then a gentleman' also reminds one of the same fact. Well may Panditji hope to persuade the royalty of India to return to the ancient calling of this sacred land of ours. Not on the clatter of arms depends the revival of her prosperity and true independence. It depends most largely upon reintroduction, in every home, of the music of the spinning-wheel. It gives sweeter music and is more profitable than the execrable harmonium, concertina and the accordion."

Gandhiji wrote a letter around July 12, 1920 to Maganlal Gandhi about the invention of a new spinning-wheel by Kale. It was, however, stated later, in *Navajivan*, 10-10-1920, that the model was found unsatisfactory in some ways. He also stated in this letter about Malaviyaji's view. The letter as follows:-

"I request readers to reflect over what I wrote about pure swadeshi. The news about the spinning-wheel published in today's *Navajivan* will not fail to fill every lover of swadeshi with enthusiasm.

"The Hon'ble Panditji, giving the information, in the course of an appeal for donations for the Hindu University, that it had been decided to work there for promoting the cause of swadeshi and to install looms, said that even some ranis in Indian States had agreed to learn spinning. He declared, amidst cheers, that his mind would not be at peace till the ruling princes in the country started weaving.

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"Why did Panditji say this? He knows that India's economic freedom depends on the spinning-wheel and the hand-loom, and that, without economic freedom, the very hope of freedom of any other kind is futile or, in the alternative, we should follow England in her round-about methods in order to acheive such freedom."

Gandhiji says, "It is my faith that swadeshi means swaraj. Mr. C.Y. Chintamani once said of me that swadeshi is nearer to my heart than swaraj or the khilafat. Swadeshi is indeed dear to me. Will not the khilafat question, once we have won, cease to exist? But swadeshi is for all time.

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CHAPTER V

KHILAFAT

The institution of Khilafat was a residue of early Islamic policy. The Prophet had both spiritual and temporal authority. His successors (Khalifas in Arabic) retained this dual authority for a while. The second Khalifa, Hajrat Omer emphasized the fact by assuming the title of Amir-ul-Mominin or Commander of the Faithful. The Islamic empire grew rapidly and attained such a huge dimension within a century that it became impossible for the Khalifa to sustain his temporal authority. His spiritual authority was also eroded by the schisms - the Shiahs being the most notable secessionists.

The authority of the Khalifa was lost when the Mongols killed the Khalifa of the day and occupied his capital Baghdad in 1265. The authority vested nominally in the rulers of Egypt thereafter, till it was revived when the Sultan of Turkey, at the peak of his power, assumed the title of Khalifa in 1517 in virtue of his sovereignty over Arabia in which lay the holy place of Islam.

A movement for maintaining in tact the position of the Turkish Sultan as the Khalifa or spiritual head of Sunni Musalmans had been started in India. This was an attempt by the Indian Muslim community to unite together in support of the

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Turkish Empire ruled by the Khalifa, which was attacked by European powers. The Muslim considered the Khalifa as the custodian of Islam. They simply could not digest his dethronement. Under the leadership of prominent Muslim leaders like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, they launched the Khilafat Movement in most parts of North India. The 27th of October 1919 was observed as 'Khilafat' Day throughout the country with meetings and demonstrations. A series of Khilafat conferences followed.

The Khilafat movement, aimed against the British government, received the support of Mahatma Gandhi, who linked his non-co-operation movement with it. At the first of these conferences on 23rd November, 1919 he suggested non-co-operation as the weapon for obtaining redress of the wrong that was being done to Turkey. The suggestion was welcomed by Abul Kalam Azad who was in preventive detention at the time. Other leaders Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Abdul Bari and even the Ali brothers wanted time to consider it.

An address on the subject was presented to the Viceroy on January 19, 1920 by a deputation in which Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Malaviya, Motilal Nehru and Shraddhanand were included. Lord Chelmsford explained to the deputationists that the matter was not entirely for Britain alone to decide but rested with allies. The deputation also met Lloyd-George but got no encouragement.

Under these circumstances the second Khilafat Conference which met at Meerut in March 1920 with Abul Kalam Azad (who had been released in January 1920) as President decided to resort to non-co-operation. Mahatma Gandhi vigorously canvassed support for it. The main objective behind this support was to

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enlist the support of the Muslim community into his movement, which addressed the issue of 'Swaraj' (self-Government). By mid-1920 the Khilafat leaders assured full support to the non-violent methods of Mahatma Gandhi, which facilitated the establishment of a united front of Hindus and Muslims against the British government. This combined force formed a major threat to British rule.

Malaviyaji sincerely sympathized with the Muslims in the matter of the Khilafat and not only joined the deputation which waited on Lord Chelmsford in January 1920 but also attended the Khilafat conferences; but he thought it risky to launch a mass movement for it under existing circumstances. With his intimate knowledge of the forces governing Hindu Muslim relations he could not find reason to enthuse over the unity that Gandhiji had brought about by mustering support for the Khilafat, nor could he entertain a fraction of the confidence in its permanence which Gandhiji had whipped up.

Malaviyaji detected danger to Hinduism as well. Already in the previous year he had reports of large scale apostasy of Hindus to Islam in the North-West Frontier Province and events in Kerala soon proved that the danger was not unreal.

Malaviyaji was therefore unable to identify himself with the Khilafat as whole-heartedly as Gandhiji who embraced its cause with zeal and devotion. It was difficult to explain except on the assumption that he would thereby unite Hindus and Muslims in the National cause and wrest Swaraj from unwilling Britain.

Probably this was the first difference of opinion between Malaviyaji and Gandhiji.

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CHAPTER VI

PUNJAB REFORMS

The aftermath of violence and arson in Amritsar and Lahore due to the detention of Dr. Kitchlew and Satyapal, though controlled by the authorities by using force and firing, did unnerve the administration, who feared the present agitation to be one similar to the 1857 rebellion. The authorities in panic, took emergency measures to bring the agitation under control. More troops were brought in at Lahore, Amritsar and other places, which were placed under the command of Brigadier-General Dyer and martial law was imposed urgently.

Military rule was imposed in Amritsar on 15th April, 1919 officially, though in practice it was effective from 12th April onward as could be seen from many arrests made of many leaders and public figures. A proclamation prohibiting public meetings and gatherings was announced, but it was not conveyed to the entire public of Amritsar.

Ignorant of such a ban, the public had arranged for a public meeting on 13th April, the Baisakhi day at 4.30 P.M. in the Jalianwala Bagh and announcements were made to this effort. The Jalianwala Bagh, a quadrangular piece of low-lying open land, was surrounded by tall buildings on all sides and

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had only one entrance comprised of a narrow lane about three feet wide.

No steps had been taken to prevent the holding of the meeting nor was any effort made to ask it to disperse at an early point of time. Irked with and angered at the disobedience of his order under martial law, General Dyer ordered his troops, who were brought into the Bagh and posted near the entrance, to open fire at the gatherings without any warning and the firing continued non-stop for ten minutes till their ammunition was exhausted.

Though it was difficult to ascertain the number of people so killed, it was estimated to be nearly 500. The post-massacre situation in the Bagh was very tragic, as the wounded and those struggling for life were left uncared for without any medical relief. General Dyer justified his action, which was later approved by the higher authorities.

Martial law imposed on April 15, was withdrawn after two months. During its tenure, a total control was imposed on the movement of the people in and out of Punjab and reporting by the press. These restrictions kept the other part of the nation in total darkness about the situation and happenings in Punjab.

A military officer took control of the administration as martial law administrator, and in the name of ensuring law and order, arrested respectable citizens, ill-treated the public and students without any cause and subjected them to various forms of humiliation. In view of the continuance of martial law, the details of the excesses of the administration came to light only after the lifting of the martial law on June 11.

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The All-India Congress Committee met at Bombay on April 20 and 21 under the president-ship of Malaviyaji and appointed a powerful sub-committee to prepare a statement in response to the Government of India's justification of the Rowlatt Act. The Committee demanded a public enquiry on the developments of Punjab and cabled their views to the British Prime Minister Lloyd George. A copy was sent to the Viceroy also.

At the next meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held at Allahabad on June 8, again under the president-ship of Malaviyaji, withdrawal of the martial law was insisted on. A sub-committee was formed with its own members called the Punjab sub-committee to conduct an enquiry into the Punjab massacre, to take legal action and to mobilize funds.

The All-India Congress Committee felt the utmost importance was to stay the execution of the sentences passed by the martial law courts. Malaviyaji cabled to the Prime Minister on this matter and requested him to withhold sentences till the enquiry was completed.

As per the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee held at Allahabad on June 8, to soothe the plight and sufferings of the people of Punjab, Malaviyaji proceeded to Amritsar, as martial law had been withdrawn. Though people were allowed to move in and out of Punjab, there was panic in the minds of the people. Without leaders to guide them, people were so terror-stricken that when Malaviyaji arrived in Amritsar there was a cold reception to him and he had to find his own accommodation with great difficulty. However, his visit to Amritsar instilled a lot of confidence in the minds of the people as they were all convinced and had full faith in Malaviyaji's effort to

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take up the case of martial law victims. He and his associates visited all the places damaged by martial law and met the victims and provided them with relief.

Though his visit and interaction with the people exposed the brutal misuse of the martial law, his findings were totally unaccepted and condemned as partial and untrue. Unable to face the factual findings, the authorities imposed surveillance on the movements of Malaviyaji during his fact finding mission.

The findings collected by them were meant for submission to the All-India Congress Committee to enable them to take up the issue with the authorities and demand an impartial independent enquiry to be conducted by the `Home Government'.

To defend their stand on the allegations brought out and forwarded to the 'Home Government' by Malaviyaji, the Government of India ordered their Intelligence Bureau to find out the contents of the findings of Malaviyaji's team by unethical means.

The allegations were made against the authorities and the police by Malaviyaji on 4th July at the meeting which took place at the Shalimar garden, Lahore.

When the allegations received by the Punjab Government, were referred to the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, he refuted almost all the allegations and criticised the mission headed by Malaviyaji.

After a comprehensive study of the various atrocities carried out by the martial law administrators, Malaviyaji left Punjab in

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mid-July to attend the All-India Congress Committee Session in Calcutta on July 19-20.

At the All-India Congress Committee meeting held on July 19 and 20 with Malaviyaji as President, it was decided to demand for an enquiry by a Royal Commission appointed independently of the Indian Government, with members without any connection with the administration of India and with powers to review the sentences passed under martial law. On July 29, Malaviyaji sent a cable to England conveying the request for a Royal Commission.

On the basis of the various pieces of information collected, Malaviyaji prepared a set of questions and submitted the same to the Legislative Department of the Government, expressing his intention to ask them during the forthcoming Legislative Council in September.

In the meanwhile the Provincial Government had taken steps to mitigate the sufferings of the victims of martial law and this was a sequence to the good humanitarian work done by Malaviyaji. However the major object of Malaviyaji's visit to Punjab apart from highlighting the brutalities of martial law, was to collect funds and provide relief of all types to the sufferers.

As initial contribution Malaviyaji gave Rs. 5,500 from the funds of the recently started All-India Seva Samiti at Allahabad. Afterwards Rs. 25,000 was distributed through V.N. Tivary who was one of the Samiti's secretaries. Organization of relief, both in terms of money and of legal advice had been entrusted to a sub-committee of which Motilal Nehru, Shraddhanand and Venkatesh Narayan Tivary were members. At the end of July,

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Malaviyaji proceeded to Bombay and on August 2, he addressed a meeting about the sufferings of the Punjab. Rs. One lakh was collected on the spot and rupees five lakhs was realized ultimately.

As already stated, Malaviyaji had prepared a set of questions and submitted the same to the Legislative Depart-ment of the Government. On the eve of the autumn session of the Legislative Council, Malaviyaji had sent in his 75 ques-tions for discussion on the barbaric and brutal actions of the martial law authorities. But this was disallowed by the Viceroy, mainly with the intention of preventing the contents being presented to the public. But this did not work, as the entire contents were published in the *'Leader'* newspaper of Allahabad from which other papers reproduced them. The facts so revealed sent a wave of horror over the country.

All the notices and appeals made in the Legislative Council to conduct a free and fair enquiry was disallowed by the Viceroy; instead a unilateral decision was taken by the Legislative Council with the recommendation of the Secretary of State to appoint a Committee with Lord Hunter as Chairman, to go into a factual enquiry on the Punjab developments.

Gandhiji was regarded as the cause of the Punjab disorders. In the words of the official enquiry Committee, "the actual collisions between the police and the mobs are found to be the by-products of the Satyagraha movement." Gandhiji was deeply distressed knowing the mob violence that occurred after his arrest. He fasted for three days, suspended the Satyagraha movement as early as April 18, 1919 and withdrew it three months later.

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Malaviyaji also stoutly refuted the Government's theory that there had been rebellion in the Punjab and maintained that the rising was not caused by the Satyagraha movement against the Rowlatt Act but was the result of the oppressive measures of the Punjab Government.

Malaviyaji's main allegation on the Government was addressed in his marathon speech lasting over four and three quarter hours on the Indemnity Bill introduced on the 18th of September, which gave protection, from any accusation, to the officers of the Government. Malaviyaji moved for the Bill being referred to a Select Committee with the intention of delaying the Bill getting passed and put up strong and vehement arguments. The speech was delivered ex-tempore except for a few references. It was listened in full attention by all assembled there. The speech was so emotional that even European officers and European ladies wept and some of them almost fainted, particularly when he described the barbaric and brutal action and the atrocities committed by General Dyer.

Despite the best efforts, Malaviyaji's motion to refer the Bill to the Select Committee failed and the Indemnity Bill was passed on 25th September.

The Punjab incident created an emotional setback on the people and the All-India Congress Committee, under Malaviyaji's leadership, insisted on an enquiry to be conducted by higher authorities unconnected with the administration of India in a free and fair manner. This was vehemently opposed by the Government of India and other officials. Telegrams sent to the Secretary of State went unheeded and the Government of India appointed a Commission under the Chairmanship of Lord

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Hunter. Nevertheless, Malaviyaji as president of All-India Congress Committee, appointed a sub-committee of their own to collect facts and evidence to be put forth before the Hunter Commission and the same was duly conveyed to Government of India.

Gandhiji, who was under detention at Bombay and later released and permitted to move around, got fully involved in this matter. He took command of the enquiry that was already in progress, on behalf of the Congress. This created courage in the minds of the people affected, to come forward to offer evidence. More evidence of popular resurgence was furnished by the enthusiastic reception of Gandhiji at Amritsar on November 4. During his week-long stay at the place, he visited the Golden Temple, Shaikh Khair Din's mosque and Jalianwala Bagh.

The scenes of riots and shootings at Amritsar were also inspected by the Hunter Committee preparatory to the sitting.

Malaviyaji appealed to the fact finding Congress sub-committee not to co-operate with the official committee but to conduct its enquiry independently, and this was duly conveyed to the Hunter Committee.

However, the Punjab sub-committee of Congress, under the leadership of Malaviyaji and now reinforced by Gandhiji, placed three conditions as a prelude to their participation in the inquiry. They are:

1. That cross examination of witnesses should be allowed;
2. That one of the judges appointed to examine the orders of the summary courts should be a High Court Judge from outside the Punjab and;

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3. That certain of the leading convicts should be temporarily released from jail on adequate for the period of the enquiry.

The first two of these demands were conceded; cross examination, within the limits already announced, was permitted and Justice Rauf of the Lahore High Court having fallen ill was replaced by Justice R. N. Mullick of the Patna High Court. As to the third demand the Congress sub-committee was informed on the 10th of November that it could not be conceded to the extent that "if the Committee desired to hear the evidence of any of the prisoners this would be duly arranged and if it was found necessary for counsel engaged in the enquiry to visit the prisoners for consultation in connection with the enquiry proper facilities for such consultation would be given."

On this basis Malaviyaji and a few supporters were in favour of co-operating with the Hunter Committee. Gandhiji, whose attitude to Government was now taking a definite turn towards non-co-operation over the Khilafat issue, did not agree to this and decided to leave Punjab. However, after great persuasion the Punjab sub-committee was convened to reconsider their stand and after great deliberation the matter was put to vote and the decision to non-cooperate was carried out by majority, despite Malaviyaji's dissent.

Despite various concessions given by the Hunter Committee which were not satisfactory and acceptable, Gandhiji stuck to his decision and advised the Congress sub-committee not to co-operate, and appear before the Hunter-committee.

A separate enquiry committee was formed by the All-India Congress Committee consisting of Gandhiji and others

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and accordingly the findings and report was drawn up as per the guidance of Gandhiji.

Malaviyaji, fully committed and totally involved in the Punjab incident, earned the gratitude and affection of the people of Punjab and remained an idol for years afterwards as 'a national leader par excellence'.

The report of the Congress sub-committee was published on 3rd April well ahead of the Hunter Committee's report.

The Hunter Committee, which formed into two groups due to difference in approach and opinion, had to submit two separate reports on their findings. It submitted separate reports in May, 1920. There were thus three reports before the Indian public which contained only a few identical conclusions, the great majority being different.

Even before the submission of the Hunter report, King George V issued a proclamation on 24th December declaring general amnesty for all those under detention and conviction, except for those involved in violence.

The healing effect of the Royal proclamation under whose impulse forward-looking leaders like Tilak, Gandhiji, Motilal Nehru, Mrs. Besant and Malaviyaji agreed to cooperate to work on the reforms, however, failed to alter the Moderate's decision. Some of them like Srinivasa Sastri did not stay for the duration but left in the middle of the session to attend the Moderate's conference at Calcutta on the 30th December.

The loss of numbers caused by the withdrawal of Moderates was compensated by the coming in of hundreds who were released from the prison after the King's proclamation

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including Ali Brothers. Their appearance at the session heightened the enthusiasm.

The Muslim League also held its session in Amritsar at the same time under the president-ship of Hakim Ajmal Khan. Prominent leaders, Jinnah, Ajmal Khan and others attended the Congress and there was much evidence of Hindu-Muslim unity. Motilal Nehru was elected as the President of the session as per Malaviyaji's wish and various resolutions were passed.

Malaviyaji moved a resolution to build a memorial for the Jalianwala Bagh massacre. The same was passed and Malaviyaji was appointed as Chairman of the committee formed to do this task. Despite best efforts this wish could be fulfilled only by 1961.

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CHAPTER VII

NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT

The Khilafat movement and the Punjab episode (the massacre of Jalianwalabagh) made the blood boil in every citizen of India. Gandhiji defied the Congress in launching the non-cooperation movement on August 1, 1920 for the purpose of demonstrating its usefulness and thereby getting it accepted by the party.

The All India Congress Committee which met at Banaras from May 28 to 30 to consider the Hunter report and the programme of non-co-operation failed to come to a decision on the question of non-co-operation and decided to call together a special session of the Congress at Calcutta on September 4, 1920.

Gandhiji was not willing to await the decision of the special session of the Congress. He wrote:-

> "The Hon'ble Pandit Malaviyaji, for whom I entertain the highest regard and whom I have so often described as *dharmatma*, has appealed to me both publicly and privately to suspend non-cooperation till the Congress has pronounced upon it. *The Mahratta* has also done likewise. These appeals have made me pause and think, but I regret to say that I have not been able to respond

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to them. I would do much and give much to please Pandit Malaviya. I am anxious to receive his approbation and blessing for all my actions. But a higher duty requires me not to turn from the course mapped out by the Non-cooperation Committee. There are moments in your life when you must act, even though you cannot carry your best friends with you. The "still small voice" within you must always be the final arbiter when there is a conflict of duty.

"The reason for asking me to suspend action is that the Congress will presently meet and consider the whole question of non-cooperation and give its verdict. It would therefore be better, says Pandit Malaviya, to await the Congress decision. In my humble opinion it is no Congress-man's duty to consult the Congress before taking an action in a matter in which he has no doubts.

"My loyalty to the Congress requires me to carry out its policy when it is not contrary to my conscience. If I am in a minority I may not pursue my policy in the name of the Congress..... Every Congressman, every public body has the right, it is sometimes their duty, to express their own opinion, act upon it even and thus anticipate the verdict of the Congress."

At one of the public meetings addressed by Malaviyaji at Allahabad, he was asked by a member of the audience why he did not strengthen Gandhiji's hand by joining him. Malaviyaji's answer was, "Gandhiji is after all a man and I think he is mis-taken. I follow my conscience".

The Special Session of the Congress was held in Calcutta from 4th to 9th September, 1920 with Lajpat Rai as president.

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The resolution of the session was moved by Gandhiji, dealing with Non-co-operation. It ran as follows:-

"This Congress is of opinion that there can be no contentment in India without redress of the two aforementioned wrongs and that the only effectual means to vindicate national honour and to prevent a repetition of similar wrongs in future is the establishment of Swarajya.

"This Congress is further of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive non-violent non-co-operation until the said wrongs are righted and Swarajya is established.

The Congress earnestly advises:-

a) surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in local bodies;

b) refusal to attend Government levees, durbars, and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials or in their honour;

c) gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government and in place of such schools and colleges, establishment of national schools and colleges in the various Provinces;

d) gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants and establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid for the settlement of private disputes;

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e) refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia;

f) withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the Reformed Councils, and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may, despite the Congress advice, offer himself for election;

g) the boycott of foreign goods."

After long and earnest consideration, the Resolution of Non-Cooperation movement of Mahatma Gandhi was passed. The most important proposal made in that resolution was the boycott of the legislative councils, the law courts and the Government and Government-aided educational institutions and starting of national schools and colleges.

In bringing the meeting to a close on September 9, 1920, Pandit Malaviya said that although he had the greatest regard and affection for Mr. Gandhi, it was his most painful duty to differ from him entirely in regard to the resolution of the Congress on non-cooperation. He was therefore determined to pursue a course of action different from that adopted by the Congress, to remain in the Congress and at the same time seek election to the Legislative Council.

Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar said that he felt relieved to hear the statement from the Panditji because a number of friends who were standing as candidates and who were also Congressmen had doubts as to whether they should continue to be the members of the Congress seeking elections to the

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councils. Panditji's example would be a precedent to them and may be acted upon by others who were in a similar position with regard to the resolution. He added that the members would like to hear Mr. Gandhi's views on the matter.

Gandhiji said that as he had expressed his opinion in the Press, the Subjects Committee and elsewhere, he would state it again that it was perfectly competent for the minority to continue to be members of the Congress and to be free to act or not to act on the resolution of the Congress according to their convictions and conscience and said that he agreed with Malaviyaji in the view he took as regards this matter.

Mrs. Besant observed that as she was totally opposed to non-co-operation, she, as a member of the All-India Congress Committee, felt she ought not to act in the Committee and she would cease to attend further meetings of the Committee till the next Congress.

Malaviyaji, however, said that as an ex-officio member of the Committee, he would continue to attend the meetings of the Committee till he was forced to leave. Malaviyaji finally advised all those present not to take any hasty action.

The annual session of the Congress held in December 1920 at Nagpur witnessed further progress in the direction of non-cooperation movement. Malaviyaji opposed non-co-operation. He tried to mediate between the Government and the people and to settle things but failed. The non-cooperation movement started in full swing. National Colleges and National Schools of all grades were started in different parts of the country during the year 1921.

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On the subject of non-co-operation in general and on certain items of it in particular, Malaviyaji's difference with Gandhiji was fundamental and was also openly expressed and actively propagated. The difference of opinion between Malaviyaji and Gandhiji on each item of the non-co-operation movement is dealt with separately in the next few chapters.

Malaviyaji recognised the efficacy of non-co-operation as a weapon for attaining the national objective but argued with a good deal of force that the programme as envisaged would not prove effective at any rate under the existing circumstances.

The non-co-operation programme reached its acme in the last week of December, 1921. Gandhiji had promised *Swaraj* within a year if his programme was adhered to and carried out. "Swaraj in one year" was the talk of the day. The resolution on non-co-operation passed at the Ahmedabad Session of the Congress in 1921, called upon all students of the age of eighteen and over, particularly those studying in the National institutions and the staff thereof, to sign immediately the pledge and become members of the National Volunteer Corps.

Swaraj did not mean the same thing to both of them. Gandhiji explicitly declared that he had completely lost faith in the British government and the British people and wanted the country to break entirely away from them. In his view half measures would be ineffective.

Malaviyaji, though no less sore over the Punjab wrongs and the palpable reluctance of British to part with real power, had not lost faith in the British people and still thought the British connection worth maintaining if the country was accorded the status of a Dominion within the Empire.

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In January, 1922 a representative All-Parties Conference was convened in Bombay on the initiative of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. It was attended by 300 persons belonging to all parties. Mahatma Gandhi also attended. The main object of the conference was to persuade the Government to convene a Round Table Conference with authority to make a settlement on the question of *Khilafat*, the Punjab and *Swaraj*. The Conference passed a resolution condemning the repressive policy of the Government and appealed to the Congress to postpone the contemplated campaign of civil disobedience pending negotiations with the Government. A Committee was appointed to give practical effect to the objects of the conference.

The Congress Working Committee resolved on January 17, 1922 "that the active civil disobedience contemplated by the Ahmedabad Congress be not started till the 31st of January or pending the result of the negotiations undertaken by the committee of the Malaviya Conference for a Round Table Conference, whichever may be the first date."

The work of the Committee, however ended abruptly. Their attempts failed as the Viceroy summarily rejected the terms offered by the Conference. The Working Committee of the Congress authorised on January 31, 1922, the starting of the *Satyagraha* at Bardoli. But soon the whole programme of mass campaign was cancelled by Gandhiji following the incident which took place at *Chauri Chaura* on the 5th of February, 1922. During a procession there, the police opened fire and after exhausting their ammunition they retired to the *thana*. The furious mob set fire to the thana. Twenty two constables were burnt alive.

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Malaviyaji had returned to Banaras on 28th January, 1922. After about a week he again left for Bombay. On his way he got the news of the *Chauri Chaura* incident. He was terribly shocked. It strengthened his idea that the country was not prepared for a non-violent movement.

Gandhiji also realised this. He wrote in Young India on February 16, 1922:

"God has been abundantly kind to me. He has warned me the third time that there is not as yet in India that non-violent and truthful atmosphere which alone can justify mass civil disobedience, which can be at all described as civil, which means gentle, truthful, humble, knowing, wilful yet loving, never criminal and hateful".

At the request of Gandhiji, the Congress Working Committee decided on February 11th, to cancel the programme of mass civil disobedience and to substitute a constructive programme of spinning, temperance, reform and educational activities.

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CHAPTER VIII

NATIONALIZATION OF BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY

One of the proposals made in the resolution on the Non-Cooperation movement was the boycott of Government-aided institutions and the starting of national schools and colleges and Universities. Gandhiji wanted to nationalize the Aligarh Muslim University and Banaras Hindu University. He thought by that Government control over them will be removed and renunciation of Government grant will be possible. Gandhiji's charge against these universities was that they were controlled by Government in consideration of the grants they received.

Malaviyaji was deeply concerned over this matter and he started his opposition to it. He held the view that a certain measure of Government control would be helpful and recognition and financial aid from Government were necessary for the very existence of the University. In answer to Gandhiji he sought to prove that Government control, such as it was, did not affect the University's freedom in matters academic; also that the liaison with Government did not hamper the aspiration for Swaraj. He declared that he was ready to sacrifice a hundred Hindu Universities if they stood in the way of the country attaining freedom.

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The non-cooperation movement started in full swing. The widespread movement, started to dissuade the students from pursuing their studies and joining the universities, had its effect on the Banaras Hindu University also during the session 1920-21. Malaviyaji had to face the unpleasant task of advising the students to stick to their studies and thereby prepare and qualify themselves better for the struggle in life. He invited Gandhiji also to come to Banaras and advise the students.

Gandhiji accepted Malaviyaji's invitation. A large number of students assembled in the Kashi Naresh Hall of the Central Hindu College at Kamachcha on November 27, 1920. Gandhiji, accompanied by Smt. Kasturbai Gandhi, Abdul Kalam Azad and others, and escorted by Malaviyaji arrived at 2.30 in the afternoon.

Malaviyaji started the proceedings with a welcome speech addressing Gandhiji as his respected brother. He thanked Gandhiji for having accepted his invitation to come to the University and address the students. He addressed the students saying, "I know you were keen to hear his instructions. Please listen to him attentively with love and reverence".

Addressing the students Gandhiji said:-

"What I see here today reminds me of what I saw at Aligarh. All that I had to say to students I said at Aligarh. I was conscious of my responsibility. I was aware that the University at Aligarh is older than this University. It had been established by a great man and was loved by its alumni. Nevertheless I said without fear what I had to say. My heart wept at what I was doing.

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"My heart weeps also when I see you and behold these huge buildings. Today, in fact, it weeps the more because the life and soul of this University is my revered brother, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. I do nothing with which he is not associated. Ever since I returned to India I have been wishing that I may spend all my life with him. I have no such association with the Aligarh University. I dare not say anything from this platform which may cause the slightest hurt to him.

"I wish to tell you that there is a great difference of opinion between me and my brother; but my fraternal regard for him is not the least affected by it. My prayer to you also is that even if you are of the same opinion as I, please do not allow your reverence for him to be lessened. I am sure whatever Malaviyaji is doing, is because he considers it to be his duty. Difference of opinion can not diminish my respect for him.

"If you do not consider it a sin or irreligion to accept the gift of education you should never leave. I cannot take even the gift of gold from the hands of one who is wicked. I consider it sinful to take education where his flag flies. I consider it sinful to study even the *Gita* and the crafts there. ..... I consider this the regime of Ravana. Tulsidas has called it a sin to live under such a regime. .....I say to the students that their duty consists in not co-operating with this regime. You must do what it is possible for you to do. The main thing for you is to refuse the education that is offered to you. I do not speak of co-operation in general. I ask you to give up the specific co-

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operation with which you as students are concerned. If you feel the same way about this Government as I do, then you should consider it your dharma to leave. This dharma involves no conditions as to the kind of education you may then get. I merely tell you your dharma. To everyone I say: whether or not education is available elsewhere, you should leave. You can try for a similar sort of education elsewhere if you are so inclined but it should not be under the aegis of the Government.

"If you decide to leave this place, do so after obtaining Malaviyaji's blessings. I shall be grieved in case any of you who leave the University fail to serve the country or go about seeking self-interest.

"If your conscience does not give you a clear direction, please follow Malaviyaji's advice."

Gandhiji went on to explain his views about the damaging effect of the existing system of education and how it had enslaved our minds. He concluded by saying:-"Those who want to non-cooperate should consult their parents and Malaviyaji and leave with their blessings".

Malaviyaji said in his presidential remarks:-

"I do not believe in keeping birds in a cage. Those whose minds have turned away from studies and those who have resolved to leave should surely go. I have no feeling of hostility. Those who wish to stay should study diligently and regard it as service to the country. Ask the Supreme Soul whether you are yet fit for serving the country. For you it is yet time for study. Let not the fate

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of the immature Sanyasi befall you. It is our duty to establish Self-Government; it is your duty as students to devote yourselves to study. If you are sore over some action of Government need you cut off all connection with it? Leave off your studies in case you think they are not a preparation for the fight for the Swaraj. Consult your parents; and if you consider it your duty to act against their wishes, touch their feet and go; but remember that one who cannot satisfy his parents and teachers can satisfy nobody."

Some of the teachers and others who could not control their desire to take active part in the movement left the University. About 200 students left with Acharya J. B. Kripalani.

Several persons who attended this meeting, wrote about it after forty years on the occasion of Malaviyaji's birth centenary. Their judgement ripened by age, they paid high tribute to Malaviyaji for the soundness of his views and the courage with which he stuck to them. They recorded unlimited admiration for the marvellous way the two great men, while not yielding an inch to the view of the other, yet commended those views for the most serious consideration of the audience. K. C. Trigunayat who was a student at that time and who non-cooperated but returned to become an eminent member of the teaching staff of the Banaras Hindu University later told of how they wept that day over the difficult choice placed before them and how those who decided to leave went to both Malaviyaji and Gandhiji and obtained their blessings.

Kishori Das Bajpai gave additional information that Malaviyaji said he would not mind the least if, on this account,

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Government stopped its grant to the University but he himself saw no reason to renounce it since Government would lose nothing thereby. Bajpai also said that Malaviyaji offered to abide by the decision they might take at this meeting and that the proposal of non-acceptance of grant was put to the vote and was rejected.

The University was not closed even for a single day because of the movement and continued to function normally.

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CHAPTER IX

BOYCOTT OF GOVERNMENT AIDED INSTITUTIONS

The resolution on the Non-cooperation movement of Gandhiji was passed in the special session of the Congress held in September 1920 at Calcutta. One of the proposals made in that resolution was the boycott of Government-aided educational institutions and starting of national schools and colleges.

Malaviyaji actively preached against the boycott of Government-aided educational institutions, more vigorously after it had been accepted by the special session of Congress in September and the annual session at Nagpur in December 1920. The difference of opinion between Malaviyaji and Gandhiji was deepest on this issue of boycott of education.

Gandhiji said, "I hope you know that I am as eager as any that our boys' education should not be neglected. But I am certainly more eager that their education is received through clean hands. I hold it to be unmanly for us to continue to receive grants for our education from a Government which we heartily dislike. In my humble opinion, that would be even dishonourable and disloyal".

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He said further, "If we regard it as an honour to be honoured by a Government that has gone to the last limits of injustice, if we receive education in its schools and continue to practise as lawyers in its courts, how can we demonstrate that we have felt hurt by its actions?"

Clarifying his views in answer to poet Tagore, he wrote:-

"My experience has proved to my satisfaction that literary training by itself adds not an inch to one's moral height and that character building is independent of literary training. I am firmly of opinion that the Government schools have unmanned us, rendered us helpless and godless. They have filled us with discontent, and providing no remedy for discontent, have made us despondent. They have made us what we were intended to become—clerks and interpreters. A government builds its prestige upon the apparently voluntary association of the governed. And if it was wrong to co-operate with the Government in keeping us slaves, we were bound to begin with those institutions in which our association appeared to be most voluntary. The youth of a nation are its hope. I hold that as soon as we discovered that the system of Government was wholly, or mainly evil, it became sinful for us to associate our children with it."

Gandhiji said, "Much is being said and written against the proposed boycott of Government-controlled schools and colleges. The proposal has been described as "mischievous", "harmful", "opposed to the best interest of the country". Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is among its most uncompromising opponents".

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BOYCOTT OF GOVERNMENT AIDED INSTITUTIONS

"I have been taxing myself to the best of my capacity in order to discover my error. But the effort has resulted in deepening my conviction that it is sinful to receive any education under the control of the present Government, no matter how high its quality may be, even as it would be to take the richest milk when it is tainted with poison."

In contrast to these views, Malaviyaji's speeches and writings on the subject was that boycott of education was suicidal, that the funds with which government maintained some educational institutions and gave grants-in-aid to others, were our own and it was unwise to deny ourselves the services provided thereby. Government did not stand to lose anything by our withdrawal from its schools or by our refusal of grants-in-aid. In any case the existing schools should be utilized till an adequate number of national institutions of comparable or better quality were established.

Malaviyaji asked the students, "If you are sore over some action of Government need you cut off all your connection with it?" He impressed upon the students that his views were in favour of Swaraj but against boycott of education. He firmly asserted that Swaraj could not be won without education and education was impossible without aid. He appealed to students not to surrender their individual judgement and to remember that boycott of educational institutions would amount to intellectual suicide which was not the way to Swaraj. He urged them to stay in the University, to grow in knowledge and intellect and be fully equipped for the task of Swaraj.

After the unsuccessful attempts to turn the Banaras Hindu University and Aligarh University into national institutions,

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Gandhiji expressed the hope of setting up a national university in Banaras. This hope was quickly realised. Shiva Prasad Gupta gave abundantly in land, money and material for the establishment of Kashi Vidyapitha. The opening ceremony was performed by Gandhiji on 11th February, 1921. Malaviyaji attended the function. The Vidyapitha was prohibited by its constitution from receiving aid from Government, even from the Government of free India. (The constitution was amended after Independence to enable the Congress Government to give grants-in-aid to the Vidyapitha.) This Vidyapitha was established to teach through the Hindi medium. The Jamia Millia Islamia (or the National Muslim Univer-sity) was also established at Delhi.

Apart from these two, many other national institutions were started. National Colleges and National Schools of all grades were started in different parts of the country during the year 1921. Great impetus was given to National Education. The Gujarat Vidyapitha had been inaugurated, with Gandhiji as Chancellor. Gandhiji opened the National College in Calcutta in February, with Subhas Chandra Bose as Principal and the Bihar Vidyapitha in Patna. Bengal National University and Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapitha came into existence. Added impetus was given to the movement already on foot since 1907 for national education in Andhra Pradesh. These institutions took up the teaching of Hindi, spinning, weaving and village work in addition to their regular curriculum.

Malaviyaji had to make strenuous efforts to prevent students leaving Banaras Hindu University. Throughout the month of February he gave speeches condemning the boycott. He himself, with the strength of his convictions, firmly declared his

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resolve that the University would continue to function even if deserted by teachers and students.

In March, he tried to interfere to enable candidates for the examinations of the Government Sanskrit College, Banaras to reach the examination hall at the Queen's College where the examinations were to take place. Non-co-operators were picketing the entrance to the College to prevent the examinees from going in. Malaviyaji personally proceeded to the scene and persuaded the picketers to allow the examinees to go in, but failed. Then he made his way into the College by stepping gently on the vacant places between the prostrate bodies of the picketers, and patiently bore the abuse that was shouted at him.

Gandhiji expressed his appreciation of Malaviyaji's courage of conviction and his disapproval of the picketers in an article which was published in Young India on 16th March 1921, in the following words:-

> "If any man in India should be free from insult it is Panditji. His services to the Punjab are still fresh in our memory. After all, his labour alone has brought into being that great University at Banaras. His patriotism is second to none..... If the Sanskrit students or the so-called *Sanyasis* chose to block the passage of students Panditji certainly had the right—it was his duty—to intervene and secure a passage for co-operating students..... I am, therefore, unable to extend any sympathy to those who so manifestly discredited a cause, which they ignorantly claimed to represent."

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CHAPTER X

BOYCOTT OF GOVERNMENT

The most important proposal made in the resolution of Non-co-operation movement of Gandhiji was the boycott of the Legislative Councils, and the law courts.

Malaviyaji said that the boycott of Legislative Councils by Congressmen would only deprive them of a means of influencing the Government. Also it would place that power in the hands of persons and parties who were less keen on banishing the British rule. He expressed the view that the boycott of Councils was a "dangerous doctrine".

Gandhiji said that among the details of non-co-operation, he had placed in the foremost rank the boycott of the councils. Friends quarrelled with him for the use of the word boycott, because he had disapproved boycott of British goods or any foreign goods for that matter. But there, boycott had its own meaning and here boycott had its own meaning. He said, "I not only do not disapprove but approve of the boycott of the councils that are going to be formed next year. And why do I do it? The people—the masses—require from us, the leaders, a clear lead. They do not want any equivocation from us. The suggestion that we should seek election and then

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refuse to take the oath of allegiance would only make the nation distrust the leaders. It is not a clear lead to the nation. So I say to you, my countrymen, not to fall into this trap.

"I hold that if we want to give the nation the clearest possible lead and if we want not to play with this great nation, we must make it clear to this nation that we cannot take any favours, no matter how great they may be, so long as those favours are accompanied by an injustice, a double wrong done to India not yet redressed. The first indispensable thing before we can receive any favours from them is, that they should redress this double wrong. There is a Greek proverb which used to say: "Beware of the Greeks but especially beware of them when they bring gifts to you". Today from those ministers who are bent upon perpetuating the wrong to Islam and to the Punjab, I say we cannot accept gifts but we should be doubly careful lest we fall into the trap that they may have devised. I therefore suggest that we must not coquet with the councils and must not have anything whatsoever to do with them."

It was told that if the Nationalists did not seek election, the Moderates would, and that there were good sheep and black sheep among the Moderates and the Nationalists. Replying to this Gandhiji said, "I know that many Moderates hold honestly the view that it is a sin to resort to non-co-operation. I respectfully agree to differ from them. I do say to them also that they will fall into a trap which they will have devised if they seek election. But that does not affect my situation. If I feel in my heart of hearts that I ought not to go to the councils, I ought at least to abide by this decision and

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it does not matter if ninety-nine other countrymen seek election. .....If it is a question of religious honour, whether I am one or among many, I must stand upon my doctrine."

"Even if I should die in the attempt, it is worth dying for than that I should live and deny my own doctrine. I suggest that it will be wrong on the part of anyone to seek election to these councils. If once we feel that we cannot co-operate with this Government, we have to commence from the top. We are the natural leaders of the people and we have acquired the right and the power to go to the nation and speak to it with the voice of non-co-operation. I, therefore, do suggest that it is inconsistent with non-co-operation to seek election to the councils on any terms whatsoever."

He said, "It is true that I have laid great stress on the boycott of councils. Each one of us is prone to hero-worship and, therefore, when leaders who are fit to be our representatives give up the idea of entering the councils, I know that the immediate effect would be tremendous."

Again Gandhiji said, "I now come to the burning topic, viz, the boycott of the councils. Sharpest difference of opinion existed regarding this, and if the house has to divide on it, it must divide. If it must divide you will consider that it must divide on one issue, viz, whether swarajya has to be gained through the councils or without the councils. If we utterly distrust the British Government and we know that they are utterly unrepentant how can you believe that the councils will lead to swarajya and not tighten the British hold on India?"

Gandhiji said, "I come to the final point namely boycott of councils. I must confess that I have not yet heard a single

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argument in favour of going to councils. All the argument that has upto now been advanced is seeing that we have done something through these councils during 35 years, seeing that the reformed council is really in response to our agitation—which I admit—and seeing that there is greater scope for obstruction as we can command a majority by influencing voters—which too I admit—, we may be able by going to councils, to paralyse Government, or the administration, as the case may be. .....When we seek elections to councils, I assure you that Government will not be pleased to see Nationalists outside the councils. Government are eager today to have Nationalists in the councils.

"What do these councils mean? A simple test I venture to present to you and leaders is that these two wrongs that we are come to consider are the khilafat and the Punjab. Do you believe that by going to the council and engaging in debates there, you can produce a direct impression upon British ministers and secure a revision of the Turkish Terms and repentance on account of the Punjab affair?

"Our revered brother and leader Pandit Malaviya has said that very soon all that the Congress Sub-committee asked for will be granted, because some or most of the officers are already gone or will be presently going and in April even the Viceroy will have gone. I respectfully suggest that it is not what I at least intended when I put my pen to that report. I said emphatically, even at our discussion, that the dismissal of the officers be based upon their incapacity and the atrocity that they were guilty of and not by efflux of time and that the Viceroy should be compulsorily retired if he does not tender

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his resignation before his time. It does not serve my purpose when the Viceroy goes by efflux of time; and so also the officers. If the officers are retired compulsorily but not retired on these specific grounds, it does not serve my purpose at all. I want a repentant clean heart, a change of heart, and I miss any repentance, any change of heart and the hand of fellowship which I had thought was extended at the time of the Amritsar Congress—and that is my reason for having then suggested co-operation with Government, but having found out afterwards that there was no redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, the painful revelation has dawned on me that the British ministers or the Government of India never meant well by the people of India. Instead of repentance, a challenge is given to India, that if you want to be ruled by British, the price is terrorism.

"Please recognize one fundamental settled fact, that the Muslim League has passed a resolution that they are going to boycott councils entirely. Do you believe that one fourth of our body may pull one way and three fourths in another way? If these were running along parallel lines I can understand it, but here they will be pulling in opposite ways and is it right they should do so? Can Hindus gain anything even by a policy of obstruction, if every believer in Islam boycotts the council, as he could boycott sin? That is the religious position in Islam. They consider it is sinful for them to go to the councils and take the oath of allegiance. Let not practical India and practical politicians who gather here from year to year forget this settled fact.

"Gandhiji said about the boycott of the Law courts, "I submit that national non-co-operation requires suspension of

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their practice by lawyers. Perhaps no one co-operates with a government more than lawyers through its law-courts. Lawyers interpret laws to the people and thus support authority. It is for that reason that they are styled officers of the court. They may be called honorary office-holders. It is said that it is the lawyers who have put up the most stubborn fight against the Government. This is no doubt partly true. But that does not undo the mischief that is inherent in the profession. So when the nation wishes to paralyse the Government, that profession, if it wishes to help the nation to bend the Government to its will, must suspend practice. But, say the critics, the Government will be too pleased, if the pleaders and barristers fell into the trap laid by me. I do not believe it. What is true in ordinary times is not true in extraordinary times. In normal times the Government may resent fierce criticism of their manners and methods by lawyers, but in the face of fierce action they would be loath to part with a single lawyer's support through his practice in the courts."

Again he said, "Let us first consider the case of lawyers. The power of a government depends on its courts. Through courts it punishes the guilty and it is through them that civil disputes are settled and in this way the Government acquires control over the people. Since the courts cannot run without lawyers, the latter, too, are deemed officials of the courts. When the Government rules justly, the courts and lawyers are perhaps of some service but, when the Government resorts to injustice, helping its courts to run is to further the injustice. It is almost impossible to run courts without the co-operation of lawyers. But what will happen to law and order? We shall evolve law and order through the instrumentality of these

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very lawyers. We shall promote arbitration courts and dispense justice, pure, simple, home-made justice, Swadeshi justice to our countrymen. That is what suspension of practice means.

"When I call upon the lawyers to give up practice, my intention is not that they should sit idle at home; it is rather that they should start working whole time for the cause of the Khilafat or the Punjab, and also that they influence their clients and prevail upon them not to go to the courts."

Gandhiji said, "I declined to accept the interpretation that some in the audience placed upon these two items, when they questioned that they are to withdraw their children only when national schools are ready, and that lawyers should suspend practice when arbitration courts are established. That in my opinion is building before foundation. I cannot put a handsome pile of buildings or even erect a straw cottage without having children to educate. When a nation is at war, whether non-violent, or violent, it is an indispensable condition that it stops its schools and law-courts. I have gone through two wars myself. In them schools remained in suspended animation and so were the law-courts closed, rather because litigants had no time to think of their private quarrels and parents came to the conclusion that the best education that their children could receive at a critical time in their history was that they should understand that it was better for them to have their children's education suspended for a time than that they should remain in a state of evil. These two items are undoubtedly tests of our feelings in the matter and if the nation feels it will act up to these two things."

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CHAPTER XI

BOYCOTT OF FOREIGN GOODS

The Congress Working Committee which met on February 15, 1929, accepted Gandhiji's scheme for the boycott of foreign cloth and formed the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee consisting of Gandhiji, Pandit Malaviya, Moti Lal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Ansari and Azad.

Soon after this a foreign cloth burning demonstration took place in Calcutta on 4th March, 1929 when Gandhiji arrived there for proceeding on a fortnight's tour of Burma. As soon as the bonfire was lighted, the police shoved out the crowd and put out the fire. Gandhiji was arrested and then released. Next day, on March 5, he sailed for Burma. Gandhiji's arrest gave an impetus to the movement and bonfire of foreign cloth was set alight throughout the country.

Prior to this, when the Prince of Wales landed at Bombay on November 17, 1921, non-co-operation was in full swing, Gandhiji had addressed a massive meeting on the beach in the morning of that day and made a bonfire of foreign goods. Serious rioting also broke out later in the day.

Malaviyaji had expressed strong disapproval of the burning of foreign cloth, of clothes made with it and other articles, at

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the boycott programme inaugurated by Gandhiji at Bombay where he set fire to a 25 feet high pile of such goods on 31st July 1921. Requested to light a similar pile at Poona, Malaviyaji declined. He expressed disapproval of the proceeding, saying it is improper and likely to provoke violence.

Malaviyaji suggested at the meeting of the Congress Working Committee held at Allahabad on 5th March, 1930 that the boycott of foreign cloth should be moderated by allowing stocks to be sold which the dealers have in hand. This was not agreed to, as this would have made the boycott fruitless. On the other hand, decision was taken to prevent sale of such stock by active picketing by men and women volunteers and by burning of foreign clothes made out of it, in huge bonfires. This decision was taken according to the resolution passed by the working Committee of the Congress. Gandhiji was asked by the working Committee of the Congress to frame a scheme for carrying out the Congress programme regarding boycott of foreign cloth through khadi. The scheme was to be submitted by Gandhiji to the Secretary on or before 24th January 1929.

This scheme was framed before forming the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee as stated earlier. Some portions of the scheme framed by Gandhiji is given below:

1. Congress organizations should call for volunteers to go from door to door in every town and village having a Congress Committee and collect foreign cloth in the possession of the householders and deliver or receive orders for khadi required by such householders.
2. All khadi should bear the stamp of the All-India Spinners' Association and prices should be distinctly marked on them.

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3. Voluntary preachers should be enlisted to popularize the use of khadi and to advocate complete boycott of foreign cloth.

4. Foreign cloth collected should be publicly burnt wherever possible.

5. Foreign cloth dealers should be individually visited with a view to enlisting their help and inducing them to stop further purchase of foreign cloth and to cancel all cancellable orders.

6. Picketing foreign cloth shops may be undertaken wherever possible and where there is no danger of violence being committed by Congress pickets, the latter being reliable and seasoned volunteers.

Due to the active picketing and burning of foreign clothes, the British textile industry was affected very badly reducing the import of British textiles to about 30%.

As per Fiscal Autonomy Convention, the Secretary of State would not interfere with a fiscal measure on which the Government of India and the Indian Legislative Assembly were agreed. This gave the Government of India freedom to differ from the Assembly. If they did so at the bidding of the Secretary of State, what was the agreement worth? Also it was not clearly stated that the views of the Official and nominated members of the Assembly were not to be taken into account in deciding the Legislative Assembly's views on the fiscal measure. It was not certain whether the Fiscal Autonomy Convention required that the tariff be decided by the majority vote of the elected members of the Assembly and their decision

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should be accepted by Government of India and should not be subject to interference from England. This was not agreed upon, even by some of the non-official members of the Assembly. The meeting was boycotted by Malaviyaji and other members of the New Swaraj Party. The main bill was passed in their absence. Thereafter Malaviyaji resigned from the Assembly on the 2nd of April.

After his resignation Malaviyaji threw himself whole-heartedly into the work of promoting boycott of foreign cloth as a protest against the Government's determination to help Lancashire.

Malaviyaji started discussing with merchants without wasting time regarding the stoppage of import of foreign cloth. He made a visit to the Punjab. He arrived at Amritsar on 10th April. The same evening he addressed a public meeting urging boycott of foreign goods. There he met several dealers in foreign cloth and advised them to stop selling foreign cloth. He also warned them of picketing of shops dealing in foreign goods by men and women.

The merchants readily agreed to place no further orders, because they felt that the prospect of the foreign cloth trade is uncertain due to the heavy import duty imposed on textiles by the Tariff Act. Still they wished to sell off the stock of such cloth in hand which was considerable.

Returning from Amritsar, Malaviyaji proceeded to Calcutta and arrived there on 23rd April. He convened a meeting of well-known Marwaris dealing in foreign goods. About 300 merchants attended the meeting. Malaviyaji requested them not to order foreign cloth for the next twelve months and cancel

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previous orders. All the merchants present, except two refused to agree to his request on the ground that they had already placed big orders with the British mill-owners, and if they cancelled these orders now, they would suffer heavily and would be completely ruined. Malaviyaji said that if they did not stop dealing in foreign cloth, he would socially boycott them and would also visit the neighbouring districts and ask the local shop-keepers to cut off all transactions with them. This frightened the Marwari merchants and they placed the matter before a joint meeting of the Marwari Chamber of Commerce, the India Imports Association and the Cloth Merchants Association within a few days. The sale of foreign cloth had already decreased to a large extent as a result of the boycott movement; local shop-keepers purchased only Swadeshi cloth and there was vigorous and effective picketing at Calcutta by women volunteers.

Trade in other foreign goods also declined particularly in cigarettes, bicycles, medicines and electrical goods. The petty shopkeepers stopped selling foreign cigarettes. Foreign cigarettes worth about twelve thousand rupees was reported destroyed at Rajshahi and Natore.

The Calcutta Cycle Association decided not to import British cycles in future and also to cancel the previous orders. The leading medical practitioners called upon druggists and chemists in Bengal to stop importing foreign medicines.

Gandhiji said that the cloth merchants of Bombay were talking of boycotting foreign cloth. The Gujarat Sabha of Ahmedabad was doing the same. The intention of both was to

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help as much as possible the movement for the boycott of foreign cloth.

The following were the various forms of boycott.

a) Boycott of all foreign cloth.

b) Boycott of British cloth alone.

c) Boycott of all British goods.

d) Boycott of all foreign goods.

While interviewing Gandhiji a gentleman asked: "Should we boycott all foreign goods or only some select ones?"

Gandhiji replied that this question has been asked many times and he had answered it many times. And the question does not come from only one person. He faced it at many places even during his tour. He said that in his view, the only thing to be boycotted thoroughly and despite all hardships is foreign cloth, and that can and should be done through khadi alone. Boycott of all foreign things was neither possible nor proper..... Today many things which we need for our sustenance and which are not imposed upon us, come from abroad. As for example, some of the foreign medicines, pens, needles, useful tools and other things.

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CHAPTER XII

THE VISIT OF PRINCE OF WALES

Lord Reading, the Viceroy, took a decision in June to renew the previous year's invitation to the Prince of Wales to tour the country in the coming cold season of 1921. This decision was taken totally ignoring the advice of the heads of some provincial Governments who opposed the Prince's visit for fear of his being as coldly received as his uncle Connaught had been lately, and apprehended hostile demonstrations and hartals. This decision was also taken with the object of weakening Gandhiji's hold on the people's affection by presenting a more attractive object.

Malaviyaji played a leading part in supporting the Viceroy's invitation to the Prince of Wales and was in constant and close touch with him and was therefore high in his favour.[1] It was his constant endeavour to earn and retain the good-will of the

1. "Lord Reading was strongly attracted by the Pandit's character and intellectual qualities" and, writes his biographer, "The Viceroy found great help and encouragement in the attitude of Pandit Malaviya who was not only genuinely convinced of the disastrous character of the latest developments of Non-co-operation but did not hesitate to take an open stand against them". "A more subtle brain than Gandhi", Reading himself wrote to the Secretary of State about this time.

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Viceroys, who represented the Crown in India. He had the highest regard for the royalty and attached high value for the royal proclamations. On an earlier occasion also he had fully supported the invitation extended to the Prince and wanted to invite him to open the University's buildings.

The non-co-operators took the invitation to the Prince as a challenge to which they reacted vigorously. The AICC met towards the end of July and decided to boycott the visit.

Malaviyaji was not deterred, by the Congress resolution for the boycott of the visit of the Prince of Wales, from inviting him to the Banaras Hindu University. Despite the criticism and opposition from a section of the University staff and students, he agreed to be a member of the Advisory Committee formed in July to organize and make arrangements for the success of the Prince's visit. He had a resolution passed by the University Syndicate to confer an honorary Doctorate of Letters on the Prince.

A section of the public viewed the visit of the Prince as intended to eclipse the popularity and influence of Gandhiji, even though this was disclaimed by Malaviyaji.[1] The Viceroy

1. He said in an interview to the Times of India at Bombay in July 1923, "the object of the Prince's visit was not to eclipse Gandhi; that it came off like the visits of his father and grandfather who had come out to India as Prince of Wales; that he had himself supported the idea of the Prince's visit in 1920 in the hope that by the time it came off, the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs would have been righted and because this hope was not fulfilled he had told Government officials when he went up to Simla in October that the aristocracy would join the officials in welcoming the Prince and the Public would boycott all functions held in his honour and advised that each should be left alone by the other."

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was hoping that the visit of the Prince might wean the masses from joining the non-co-operation movement and win back their loyalty.

As already said, the AICC at its meeting on 28th July decided to boycott the visit, but because of Malaviyaji's pleading and appeal to the immemorial Indian tradition of hospitality and welcome to the guest, the boycott was softened. To quote Lord Reading's biographer, "it was the Pandit who opposed a resolution moved in the INC to boycott the Prince's visit to such good effect that immediately after the meeting Mr. Gandhi issued a statement saying that the Prince's arrival was not to be marked by hartals or strikes or by any other signs of disapproval but only by abstention from official celebrations."

In between the above appeal by Gandhiji and the actual arrival of the Prince in November, the arrest of Ali brothers and other influential Muslims took place, for advocating the resignation from Government and defence services. This created unrest among the people which lead to nationwide riots, hartals and protest. Non-co-operation was thus in full swing when the Prince landed at Bombay on November 17, 1921. Gandhiji had addressed a meeting on the beach in the morning of that day and made a bonfire of foreign goods. There was a significant riot later in the day. Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Parsis, who came to take part in welcoming the Prince, were attacked. Gandhiji's appeal failed to stop the riot which went on for three days, causing 53 deaths and injuries to many. Gandhiji fasted for five days.

In view of these developments and not to take any chance with the Prince's security and safety, the Government took the

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drastic step of arresting the top leaders of the Congress (except Gandhiji). Despite the measures taken by the Government, the visit of the Prince was not as triumphant as was hoped.

Precautions were taken for the safety for the Prince, and he himself felt that the precautions were overdone and wrote in his letters expressing deep regret that so much money was being spent and so much adversity caused for the sake of his tour which did no good either to himself, to the Empire or to India.

He also wrote to Lord Reading, "My visits to British Indian cities have been boycotted by Gandhiji and his disciples. Non-co-operators have prevented thousands of natives from turning out to see me."

Despite the prevailing situation in the country Malaviyaji went ahead with organizing a grand reception for the Prince at the Banaras Hindu University. The Prince's visit to Banaras Hindu University was mainly to inaugurate the building for the Arts College and the science laboratories and for the Prince to receive the honorary Degree of Doctor of Letters.

The safety of the Prince during his visit to Banaras Hindu University was of great concern to the Government which prompted the Viceroy to visit Banaras ahead of the Prince's visit to see the arrangements made and ensure total security.

On 1st December, 1921, Lord Reading, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India paid a visit to the University presumably to personally see the arrangements made for the reception of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Welcoming

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His Excellency as the Lord Rector of the University, Malaviyaji delivered a brief speech giving an account of the University, its future programme and the financial needs for and the difficulties in the way of its further progress.

In his reply, Lord Reading said,

> ".....I cannot believe it possible in India that this great institution should fail in its purpose for want of funds, for want of support to enable it to give to the youth of India that culture and learning which is so much to be desired. I will, therefore, only say for myself, remembering that I am here in a dual position, and I must be careful how far I commit myself, that I have been not only interested but also inspired by the programme of the development of this University. The Vice-Chancellor reminded me that, being Viceroy, I am ex-officio Lord Rector, but I am also Lord Rector because I am Viceroy. Here amongst you as Lord Rector, with that warm sympathy which so naturally radiates from the young to those who are interested in youth, I am minded to do much, but I recall that I cannot do it as Lord Rector, I can only do it as Viceroy."

Referring to the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Lord Reading said:

> "He, the Heir-Apparent, the son of the king-Emperor, a bright, attractive, and charming personality, comes here to India with only one object, that is, to learn, to know you, to understand your institutions, and to grasp the hand of India. I need not tell you, because I am sure you

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already know it, that there is no political object in his visit. Your opinions may differ, indeed I have indications that some of you do differ, and you give up none of your political controversies by receiving him, as I am sure you will, cordially and loyally. You in India remember the traditional courtesy you have always been enjoined to display towards your visitors, and you will know that, by the warmth of your welcome, you will be tendering to him your thanks for coming amongst you, and taking so early an opportunity, as the heir to the throne, of visiting and knowing you."

It was this tradition of India which Malaviyaji wanted to keep up in welcoming the Prince of Wales when the Congress had decided to boycott his visit completely. The University had made grand preparations for the visit of the Prince. An amphitheatre providing accommodation for ten thousand persons had specially been erected for the purpose. This amphitheatre was constructed as a permanent and covered one.

Exactly at 11.00 A.M. on 13th December, 1921, the Prince arrived at the University, where he was received by Malaviyaji and others. A procession consisting of the Chancellor and other officers of the University and the staff of the Prince led His Royal Highness to the dais. The convocation was attended by the Maharaja of Mysore, and also by the Maharajas of Alwar and Banaras. The proceedings began with a prayer.

His Highness the Chancellor, welcomed the Prince and requested him to declare the buildings open. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, then addressed the assembly and declared the buildings open.

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The Special Convocation was then declared open to confer the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters of the Banaras Hindu University upon the Prince. The Vice-Chancellor presented His Royal Highness to His Highness the Chancellor as a person, who, by reason of his high attainments and position as the illustrious Heir to the British Throne, was eminently fit to be honoured by the conferment of such a degree. His Royal Highness stepped forward to receive the diploma from the Chancellor. While delivering the diploma His Highness the Chancellor said:

> "I hope this degree will be a silken tie which will bind Your Royal Highness in sympathy with the youth of India in all their national aspirations and will strengthen your interest in the civilization and culture and the progress and prosperity of the people of this ancient land".

As His Royal Highness put on the academic robes prescribed for the degree by the University— a scarlet and gold silk gown and hood and cream-coloured silk turban—there was a loud applause from the audience who saw in the Indian headdress a visible symbol of his having become one of themselves, by becoming a member of the Banaras Hindu University.

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CHAPTER XIII

KHADI

Gandhiji launched the Khadi movement in the 1920s with the motto that every Indian should spin his own cloth and buy hand-spun cloth. The movement not only carried on the *Swadeshi* agenda, but, more importantly, generated employment. Gandhiji wanted production by masses instead of mass production. He wanted people to be aware of their own productive potential and have control over the economic structure. This would also give them a sense of self-worth. He wrote: "*Swaraj* (self-rule) without *Swadeshi* (things made in our own country) is a lifeless corpse and if *Swadeshi* is the soul of *Swaraj*, Khadi is the essence of *Swadeshi*." The fabric, for him, was more than hand-spun cloth. He once said: "Khadi is more of a thought than a cloth... it is a symbol of *Swaraj*, a symbol of national emancipation."

The Khadi Movement worked with the twin objectives of shaking the British economy on the one hand and boosting the Indian economy on the other. The movement, in the characteristic Gandhian mode, was completely non-violent in approach.

The Charka Sangh was formed in 1925, with Gandhiji as its President. The principal motive of Charka Sangh was to promote Khadi among people. Gandhiji said, "for me wearing

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khadi is a matter of dharma. How is all this khadi made? The yarn is spun mostly by our poor sisters. The lives of some of them were wretched, but have now improved; again, there are those who had no occupation, but have now begun to earn an anna a day, if not more. They can use it for buying vegetables for the family or milk for their children. The anna we casually throw away in Bombay is certainly worth four annas in the villages.

"Those who weave this khadi are weavers who had either left off their profession or were about to do so. Using khadi is the foundation of *swadeshi*, since khadi is the only thing which can be made from thick yarn, and made easily. It has not so far had to compete with machine-made cloth. The consumption of khadi alone enables lakhs of poor people to earn an honest living, staying at home."

While giving a speech at the All-India Students Conference at Belgaum, on 27th December, 1924, Mahatma Gandhi spoke most feelingly for about 10 minutes. He exhorted the students to practise *swadeshi* and wear khaddar. He explained as to how the salvation of India was bound with the spread of the spinning-wheel. He told the audience that he was not prepared to admit the plea of want of time. They could do the work provided they had the will to do it. Finally he declared that khaddar was not the symbol of hatred of anybody but that it was the symbol of love and self-dependence.

Gandhiji came to Banaras to attend the annual function of the Gandhi Ashram being conducted by Acharya Kripalani. The purpose of Gandhiji's visit, was to stimulate the sale of Khadi manufactured by the Ashram. Malaviyaji then invited him

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to address the students of the University. Addressing the students on 9th January 1927, Gandhiji impressed upon them that the education that they were receiving, was being paid for by the starving villagers and asked them to render just a slight return to the poor by doing a little *yajna* for them through purchasing khadi from the Khadi Bhandar. He said, "If the message of the poor of India has touched your hearts, I want you to raid Kripalani's khaddar store tomorrow and denude it of all its stock, and to empty your pockets tonight".

Again on 19th March 1927, Gandhiji delivered a Convocation address at Gurukul Kangri. Speaking of Malaviyaji's work, he said: "Malaviyaji has pleaded more strongly for khaddar than he could do, but he too wanted to appeal as khaddar helped the solution of the problem of untouchability. Khaddar and charkha provided food to the teeming millions, mostly the depressed classes. Hence khaddar and the removal of untouchability were interwoven and could not be separated."

While giving an interview to 'The Bombay Chronicle' on 24th March, 1927, at Bombay, Gandhiji said, "Did the khaddar message impress the pilgrims and *sadhus* at Hardwar? It is very difficult to say. In fact, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya had been trying his best to enlist the sympathy of those pilgrims and *sadhus* for khaddar propaganda. He is more in touch with them than I am. He is staying at Hardwar for 10 days during the *mela* and he will be doing all he can to interest the *sadhus* in the khaddar movement."

Asked by the interviewer whether he would arrange more conferences with the *sadhus* to secure their services for khaddar and prohibition work and also for the removal of untouchability,

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Gandhiji replied that, "of course, the *sadhus* can do a lot in all those things but at present I have no idea whether I shall arrange any special conferences with them. Pandit Malaviya has taken the initiative in the matter and he will exercise greater influence on them than I can."

Gandhiji inaugurated the Khadi exhibition at Bangalore on 3rd July, 1927. At that function, after the reading of the Kanarese version of Mahatmaji's address was over, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari read in clear terms the following address of Gandhiji in English:

Friends,

"It is a matter of great pleasure to me to meet you in this lovely city and find in our midst our veteran leader, *Poojaniya* Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Hindu tradition makes me always feel embarrassed to take a leading part in any function at which he is present. For, ever since my return to our beloved country, I have looked up to him as to an elder brother. But what I feel to be a call of duty enables me somewhat to overcome the embarrassment.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya will lead you to the Exhibition Court. He has kindly consented to do this work for me in order to spare me the strain of going through the Exhibition Court. He will also continue the present proceedings this evening at 5-30 when he will give you what his heart prompts him to give you on what he has seen in the Exhibition Court, and what he has gathered during these six years about khaddar and I do hope that you will all come and listen to the message that he might have to deliver to you. You will not attempt, whilst he takes the leaders to the court, to crowd

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round him, otherwise it will not be really possible to study what is to be studied in the Exhibition. It is designed to be really a study for those who want to understand what his khadi movement stands for and what it has been able to do. It is not a mere ocular demonstration to be dismissed out of our minds, immediately we have gone out of the Exhibition Court."

On 12th August, 1928, a branch of the Gandhi Ashram Khadi Bhandar, run by Acharya Kripalani, was opened in the University Campus. Malaviyaji performed the opening ceremony. It was accommodated in the Ruiya Hostel. Work started there on 23rd August, 1928. In 1929 it was shifted to the Birla Hostel. Out of the total strength of about 2500 students, 25 per cent were then using khadi.

When Gandhiji came to Banaras again in September, 1929, he paid a visit to the University also. An address was presented to him on that occasion on September 25, 1929, by the members of the Khadi Sangh, Banaras Hindu University. Addressing the students of the University, Gandhiji asked them to spread the message of the spinning wheel by becoming expert spinners, by wearing khadi and by pecuniary contributions. He said, "This is not the first time I am visiting this University. I have been here before. On one occasion you gave me money for the khadi fund and for *Daridranarayana*. You have given me just now a purse of Rs. 1,286-14-2 and perhaps, you will give some more. I am grateful to you for whatever contributions you have given so far and are likely to give. .....Shri Jamnalal Bajaj visited this place. He told me of the work you have been doing regarding khadi. At that time I became

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hopeful. But from whatever I am seeing now and from whatever I have been told, it seems that the message of khadi has not touched your heart. It is not a surprising thing, but it saddens me all the same.

". . . . If you will express the requisite purity of character in action, you cannot do it better than through the spinning-wheel..... The easiest and the best way of identifying yourselves somewhat with these starving millions is to spread the message of the spinning-wheel in the three-fold manner suggested by me. You can spread it by becoming expert spinners, by wearing khadi, and by pecuniary contributions. Remember, that millions of poor people will never have access to the facilities that Malaviyaji has provided for you. What return will you make to these brothers and sisters of yours. You may be sure that, when he conceived the plan of this University, he had the question in mind, and he embarked upon the mission in the hope that you would so conduct yourselves as to deserve the training given to you.

"The charkha is a small instrument but in my eyes a very important one. You may or may not agree with me about the charkha. But my faith in the charkha is ever increasing. You have a very big building here, and you can get all kinds of facilities you wish to have. Some of the students here do not have to pay any fees. There are some to whom Malaviyaji even grants some scholarships. He is doing all that a great man can do for the students...men or women.....

"If you wear khadi you are being thrifty. You need clothes. If you wear khadi worth one rupee, 13 annas will be paid out of that to the poor people. But if you were to buy foreign cloth

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that money would go out of the country. The poverty witnessed in this country is not to be found elsewhere in the world, and if you wish to remove it, you should wear khadi."

On another occasion around the 6th of April 1930, Gandhiji made these points:-

1. If the sentiment for khadi becomes widespread in the country, we can produce today as much khadi as we require.
2. Khadi does not require as much capital as mills do.
3. It does not require as much technical skill.
4. It may be said that potentially there are thirty crores of labourers employed in the production of khadi.
5. All the implements required for the production of khadi are made in the country.
6. Khadi cannot be suppressed either by the Government or any other power.
7. Khadi can be produced in every home.
8. It is not necessary to make khadi at one place and send it to another. At present it does have to travel to some extent because the sentiment for khadi has not gained much ground.

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CHAPTER XIV

COW-PROTECTION

The Cow-Protection Conference was held at Belgaum on 28th December, 1924. Gandhiji said in his presidential speech that cow-protection is not less momentous but in certain respects even of far greater moment than that of *swaraj*. "Even so, the term "*swaraj*" would be devoid of all meaning so long as we have not found out a way of saving the cow, for that is the touchstone on which Hinduism must be tested and proved before there can be any real *swaraj* in India. .....Go to any Hindu child and he would tell you that cow-protection is the supreme duty of every Hindu and that anyone who does not believe in it hardly deserves the name of a Hindu.

"When I pledge myself to save the cow, I do not mean merely the Indian cow, but the cow all the world over. My religion teaches me that I should by my personal conduct instil into the minds of those who might hold different views, the conviction that cow-killing is a sin and that therefore it ought to be abandoned. My ambition is no less than to see the principle of cow-protection established throughout the world. But that requires that I should set my own house thoroughly in order first.

"Again, nowhere in the world is the condition of cattle so poor as in India. Nowhere in the world would you find such

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skeletons of cows and bullocks as you do in our cow-worshipping India. Nowhere are bullocks worked so beyond their capacity as here. I contend that so long as these things continue, we have no right to ask anybody to stop cow-killing. .....Then in India we have the system of *pinjrapoles* (Shelters for crippled and aged cattle). The way in which most of these are managed is far from satisfactory. And yet, I am sorry to observe that the people who are mostly responsible for them are Jains, who are out and out believers in ahimsa. Well organized, these *pinjrapoles* ought to be flourishing dairies supplying pure good milk at a cheap rate to the poor."

At the Cow-Protection Conference held at Belgaum, a committee was appointed to frame a constitution for the founding of a permanent All-India Cow-Protection Organization. In consequence of the resolution, the Committee met in January 24, 1925 at Delhi and framed a draft constitution by Gandhiji in Hindi to be submitted to a general meeting to be held in due course. The following is its translation:

ALL-INDIA COW-PROTECTION SABHA

Object

Whereas the Hindus have failed in cow-protection which is an obligation imposed on them by their religion, and whereas the cows in India and their progeny are deteriorating day by day:

The All-India Cow-Protection Sabha is formed for the proper fulfilment of the religious obligation of cow-protection. The object of the Sabha shall be to protect the cow and her progeny by all moral means. "Cow-Protection" shall mean the protection of the cow and her progeny from cruelty and slaughter.

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Note: It will be against the fundamental policy of the Sabha to bring physical force or pressure to bear on those communities whose religion does not prohibit, or regard as obligatory, cow-slaughter.

Means: The Sabha shall carry on its work by the following means:

1. By pleading with those who may be ill-treating cows, bullocks, etc., and by carrying on propaganda against such ill-treatment by means of leaflets, lectures, etc.;

2. By taking charge of diseased and disabled cows and oxen from their owners wherever the latter cannot afford to maintain them;

3. By superintending and inspecting the administration of existing *pinjrapoles* and cow-protection institutions, and by helping in their better organization and management, as also by establishing fresh institutions;

4. By breeding model cows and draught cattle by means of cattle farms, etc., and by providing clean and cheap milk through properly kept dairies;

5. By opening tanneries for tanning hides of dead cattle and thereby stopping or reducing the export abroad of disabled cattle;

6. By enlisting men of character and education in the cause, and founding scholarships, etc., for training them in the work;

7. By holding an inquiry into the causes of the disappearance of grazing lands and into the advantages or disadvantages thereof;

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8. By investigating into the necessity or otherwise of the practice of castrating bulls, and if found necessary and useful, investigating into the possibilities of discovering a harmless method of castration or a wholesome modification in the present method;

9. By collecting funds; and

10. By taking whatever other steps may be necessary for the work of cow-protection.

Membership:

Any person of the age of eighteen years, who subscribes to the object of the Sabha, and

1. who pays to the Sabha an annual subscription of five rupees; or

2. who gives to the Sabha enough time and labour to enable him or her to spin and send 2,000 yards per month of even and well spun yarn to the Sabha; or

3. who devotes one hour daily to any work that may be prescribed by the Sabha shall be a member of the Sabha.

Note: In respect of (2), slivers, if necessary, will be supplied by the Sabha.

Administration:

The members of the Sabha shall annually elect their president by a majority vote and he shall nominate the secretary and the treasurer.

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A Working Committee consisting of not less than five members of the Sabha shall be elected annually at a general meeting to be convened by the president.

The treasurer shall be responsible for the accounts of all the receipts and disbursements; all amounts exceeding one thousand rupees should be kept deposited in a bank of his approval.

All India Cow-Protection Sabha met on 15th March, 1925. In that Sabha Gandhiji said, "I believe that the protection of cows is an important and necessary task in this age for those who believe in Hinduism. I think I have been carrying on this work for many years in my own way. The whole of India is aware that the protection of cows is one of the vital reasons for the friendship that I deliberately wish to cultivate with the Muslims".

"However, I do not regard saving cows from Muslims as the most important aspect of cow-protection. The most important aspect is to make Hindus protect cows. My definition of cow-protection includes sparing cows and bullocks from the cruelty to which they are subjected".

"The committee nominated by the conference met in the last week of January in Delhi. At that meeting it was decided to establish an All-India Cow-protection Sabha; its constitution was framed and accepted by the committee.... The members of the committee included Dadasaheb Karandikar, Lala Lajpat Rai, Babu Bhagwandas, Shri Kelkar, Dr. Moonje, Swami Shraddhanandji and others. However, I would regard the existence of such an Association an impossibility without Shri Malaviyaji, the jewel

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of India. Hence, I suggested that it was necessary to obtain his approval before announcing the constitution of the proposed society. This suggestion was unanimously accepted. Hence, the task of showing him the draft constitution fell to me. I did so and he gave his approval.....A date has then to be fixed for holding a general body meeting to pass the constitution. The meeting will then be held."

The date for the general body meeting was fixed i.e. 22nd April. Then Gandhiji sent a telegram from Bombay on 26th March 1925 to Malaviyaji, to attend the meeting. The telegram was as given below:-

"PROPOSE CALLING COW-PROTECTION MEETING BOMBAY 22ND APRIL. PLEASE WIRE SABARMATI IF THAT WILL SUIT."

Malaviyaji and Gandhiji worked together for cow protection. Gandhiji said, "Cow-Protection to me is not mere protection of the cow. It means protection of all that lives and is helpless and weak in the world. But, for the moment, cow-protection means primarily protection of the cow and her progeny from cruelty and slaughter and derivatively all other cattle, e.g., the buffalo."

"Cow protection is an article of faith in Hinduism. Apart from its religious sanctity, it is an ennobling creed. But we, Hindus, have today little regard for the cow and her progeny. In no country in the world are cattle so ill-fed and ill-kept as in India. In beef-eating England it would be difficult to find cattle with bones sticking out of their flesh. Most of our *pinjra-poles* are ill-managed and ill-kept. Instead of being a real blessing to the animal world, they are perhaps simply receiving-

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depots for dying animals. We say nothing to the English in India for whose sake hundreds of cows are slaughtered daily. Our *rajas* do not hesitate to provide beef for their English guests."

According to Malaviyaji, the development and nourishment of the children of our Nation could not be fulfilled without cow's milk. Due to the malnutrition of our children the present and the future of our Nation would decline. He called the cow protection movement as human protection movement because cow is the source of physical, moral, spiritual and economic development. In 1933 he said in an appeal that people can live without the meat but there is nothing to substitute milk.

While inaugurating a cow shelter at Nasik named 'Panchavati Pinjrapole' on 15th March, 1936 Malaviyaji said, "Cow protection is compulsory for the welfare of our Nation. Our country cannot obtain *purushartha* without this. In future there will be many Cow organizations in our country, and their aim will be to supply pure and low-priced milk to common people."

On the occasion of Gopashtami, 25th October, 1925 Malaviyaji attended the 39th annual function of a Go-shala at Banaras run by a society called Kashi Jiva Daya Vistarini Sabha. Replying to the address he congratulated the management for the good maintenance of the institution for the long period of over 36 years. He advised the audience never to give a cow to the butcher, even as no one would hand over their mother to the executioner.

He had founded a cow-shelter at Prayag in Kidaganj locality in 1889 itself long before the framing of All India Cow-Protection Sabha. In 1928, he established a trust called 'Hasanand Gochar

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Bhumi Trust' after acquiring nearly one thousand acres of grazing land in Mathura and Brindavan, named after a well-known cow protector Sri Hasanand.

Malaviyaji formed a 'Bharatiya Go Raksha Mandal' and registered it at Banaras in 1941. He purchased 65 Bighas of land at Shivpur situated on the northern side of Banaras and established a cow-shelter there named Chyavanashram. Shivpur-Goshala had a lot of cows of selected high milk yielding breeds and a number of stud-bulls.

After his retirement also he spent his time in thinking of ways and means of protecting the cow. An annual function was held at Shivpur Goshala on Gopashtami day. Malaviyaji visited there in his last days and said in a feeble voice, "In a country like India it is necessary to dilate on the benefits derived from the cow. The country's children and old people did not get milk and this shortage had been aggravated by the world war. It is our duty to organize the industry that milk and ever more milk was available to everybody."

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CHAPTER XV

COMMUNAL AWARD

Malaviyaji sailed for England with Gandhiji , Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and others to participate in the Round Table Conference on 29th August, 1931 by *S.S. Rajputana* from Bombay. Gandhiji came for the second session as the sole representative of the Congress. They arrived in London on 12th September. Malaviyaji stayed at Birla House and Gandhiji at Kingsley Hall.

The second session of the Round Table Conference was held between September 7 and December 1, 1931. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Prime Minister, was the Chairman of the Conference. The second session did not open with a meeting of the full Conference. The Federal Structure Committee reassembled on September 7, and the Minorities Committee on September 28, followed by a Plenary Session beginning on November 28, 1931.

Gandhiji stated his views clearly at the plenary session on 30th November, 1931: "India must have real liberty. Call it by any name you like; a rose will smell as sweet by any other name, but it must be the rose of liberty that I want and not the artificial product. I want to be a friend of Great Britain, but I want to enjoy that independence perfectly which you are enjoying."

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Malaviyaji said with great distress, "India's problem is not understood precisely here. The atmosphere here is not such that the real condition of the people of India and their demand can be truly contemplated. We cannot lift them up from their pitiable condition till we get the full authority in our hand for the administration. Indian people have as much right on freedom, as you have."

The Prime Minister's policy statement was made on 1st December at the plenary session of the Round Table Conference which was for India very frustrating. There was no meaningful outcome from the Conference.

Gandhiji left London on 6th December and returned to Bombay on 28th December. Malaviyaji left London, on his return journey on 13th December by train, exactly a week after Gandhiji. He toured France, Germany and Italy, seeing places of interest and visiting some universities. He embarked at Naples for Bombay. He came back to Allahabad on 14th January, 1932.

Gandhiji had asked for an interview with the Viceroy the very next day after he reached Bombay. By that time Lord Willington had come as Viceroy in the place of Lord Irwin. He refused to meet him. Then, the working Committee of Congress decided to revive civil disobedience on 2nd January 1932.

Gandhiji was arrested on 4th January within a week of his arrival. The Congress and its organization was declared illegal and its movable and immovable properties were seized. A series of new ordinances were promulgated which were more severe than the previous ones.

Malaviyaji found, on his arrival in Bombay, that the Government had already put in operation its well-laid plan to crush

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On the promenade deck of S. S. Rajputana

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the nationalist movement by severe repression. He was deeply pained by these developments. He wrote a long letter to the Viceroy dated 29th January, 1932. He analyzed the condition of the country thoroughly and requested the Viceroy, "Amend the grave mistake which you have committed by adopting the repressive measures. Withdraw the black laws, release Gandhi, all men, women and children arrested under the new law, return the fines you have already collected and establish the law and order in the country."

On August 17, 1932 the British Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald announced the provisional scheme of minority representation commonly called the Communal Award. The Indian electorate was divided in various classes as Muslims, depressed class, backward class, Indian Christians, Sikhs, business and industrial class, landlords, labourers etc. and provision was made to have separate representation through separate electorate systems. There was separate representation for Anglo-Indians and Europeans too. The business class was divided further as per castes.

Gandhiji had opposed separate electorates for depressed classes. He was in Yeravda prison at that time. He resolved to resist the scheme by resorting to a fast unto death. Accordingly the day after the publication of the award on 18th August 1932, he wrote to the British Premier that he would go on an indefinite fast to protest against it. Some portions of the letter are given below:

Dear Friend,

"There can be no doubt that Sir Samuel Hoare has showed you and the Cabinet my letter to him of 11th

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March on the question of the representation of "Depressed" classes. That letter should be treated as part of this letter and be read together with this. I have read the British Government's decision on the representation of minorities and have slept over it. In pursuance of my letter to Sir Samuel Hoare and my declaration at the meeting of the Minorities Committee of the Round Table Conference on 13th November, 1931, at St. James' Palace, I have to resist your decision with my life.

"The only way I can do so is by declaring a perpetual fast unto death from food of any kind save water with or without salt and soda. This fast will cease if during its progress the British Government, of its own motion or under pressure of public opinion, revise their decision and withdraw their scheme of communal electorates for the "Depressed" classes, whose representatives should be elected by the general electorate under the common franchise no matter how wide it is.

"The proposed fast will come into operation in the ordinary course from the noon of 20th September next, unless the said decision is meanwhile revised in the manner suggested above."

In reply to Gandhiji, Mr. MacDonald wrote a letter on 8th September in which he tried to explain that with this plan the depressed class will continue to remain the part of the Hindu community, and the unity of the Hindu community has been secured.

But Gandhiji did not agree with this and he informed Mr. MacDonald that he is firm on his decision and wrote in reply on 9th September, "In the establishment of a separate electo-

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rate at all for "Depressed" classes I sense the injection of a poison that is calculated to destroy Hinduism and do no good whatsoever to "Depressed" classes."

All these correspondences were published on 12th September. The information of Gandhiji's fast unto death created a lot of uproar in the whole country. Many gentlemen requested Gandhiji not to commence this fast but he was adamant. The fast commenced at noon on 20th September, 1932.

Malaviyaji also was not ready to accept the communal award. A Hindu Leaders' Conference was held at Bombay on the 19th of September under the president-ship of Malaviyaji which decided unanimously that Gandhiji's life must be saved at all costs and that the blot of untouchability must be removed at the earliest moment. Talks continued and a complete agreement was reached on the 24th of September, the fifth day of the fast. The Yeravda Pact or Poona Pact was signed. Both the wings of the depressed classes, one owning allegiance to Dr. Ambedkar and the other to Sri M. C. Rajah were willing parties to it. Malaviyaji signed on behalf of the caste Hindus. Prominent liberal leaders and all congressmen present also signed. The agreement was as given below:-

THE AGREEMENT ARRIVED AT BETWEEN THE LEADERS ACTING ON BEHALF OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES AND OF THE REST OF THE HINDU COMMUNITY REGARDING THE REPRESENTATION OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES IN THE LEGISLATURES AND CERTAIN OTHER MATTERS AFFECTING THEIR WELFARE.

There shall be seats reserved for the Depressed classes out of general electorates. Seats in Provincial Legislatures shall be as follows :

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MADRAS	30
BOMBAY WITH SIND	15
PUNJAB	8
BIHAR AND ORISSA	18
CENTRAL PROVINCES	20
ASSAM	7
BENGAL	30
UNITED PROVINCES	20
Total	**148**

These figures are based on the total strength of the Provincial Councils announced in the Prime Minister's decision.

The signing took place on the 24th of September, around 6 in an atmosphere of cordiality. According to a report in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 26-9-1932, Madan Mohan Malaviya signed first, followed by2 Dr. Ambedkar, who used Rajagopalachari's pen for the purpose and kept it for himself and in exchange gave him his own pen to sign and keep as a memento of the occasion. On the same day itself the British Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Viceroy Lord Willington and others were informed by wire about this agreement. This agreement became famous as the Poona Pact.

On the 25th of September, a conference was held at Bombay with Malaviyaji in the chair and the agreement arrived at Yeravda was ratified. Gandhiji had stipulated that he would break his fast only after the British Cabinet had accepted the

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compromise and urged immediate modification of the Communal Award in accordance with the Pact. The Cabinet deliberated long over it and gave its approval. Gandhiji terminated his fast on the morning of 26th September. The period from September 27th to October 2, was observed as Untouchability Abolition week throughout India.

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CHAPTER XVI

UPLIFT OF UNTOUCHABLES

Mahamana Malaviya and Mahatma Gandhi both worked hard for the uplift of untouchables. They left no stone unturned in their efforts to eradicate untouchability and help the 'untouchables' lead a dignified life.

With a resolve to remove untouchability, Malaviyaji made an appeal to untouchables to maintain high standards of cleanliness. In 1918, on the occasion of Kumbha Mela at Prayag, he engaged about two thousand scavengers for sanitation work. At the end of the Mela he asked all the scavengers to take bath in the Ganga and presented dhotis, towels and blankets to each of them and recited the scriptures at the *Sangam*. On the day of '*Shivaratri*', he created an upheaval in Hindu society by arranging a procession of thousands of untouchables. This procession was about one kilometer long and about one lakh people participated in it. The procession ended at Dashaswamedha Ghat where Malaviyaji initiated all the untouchables with his Mantradeeksha.

On the issue of his Mantradeeksha Malaviyaji had accepted the challenge by the Shankaracharya of Haridwar. Consequently he entered into a religious debate *(Shastrartha)* with Shankaracharya

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in the presence of some 60 thousand people and he initiated the untouchables at Brahmakund on the following day.

Malaviyaji formed the *'Antyajoddhara Sabha'* to re-establish the dignity of the deprived section of untouchables in the Hindu society and started a revolutionary experiment of initiation of sacred mantras to untouchables in 1921. This was aggressively opposed by the orthodox section of the Hindu society. In 1923 and 1924 he organized meetings of Hindu scholars from all over the country in Kashi and Prayag, tried to get the injunctions based on Shastras related to the uplift of untouchables, conducted debates *(Shastrarthas)* and obtained cooperation and support for his mission. He initiated the *'Om Namah Shivaya'* and *'Om Namo Narayanaya'* Mantradeeksha to several lakhs of untouchables at Kashi, Prayag, Nasik, Calcutta and Haridwar.

In the Banaras Hindu University he made provision for free education for the untouchable students; all were given monthly stipend and were given blankets and clothes every year. It is the great contribution of Malaviyaji that several untouchables achieved high positions after getting their education at the Banaras Hindu University.

The Congress Working Committee had set up a separate committee for the removal of untouchability, with Bharat Bhushan Pandit Malaviya as the President and Shri. Jamnalalji as its Secretary with its office at 395, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay. The main objects of the committee were:

1. to get public temples thrown open to the *Antyajas*;
2. to secure for the *Antyajas* the use of public wells;

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3. removal of the restrictions which *Antyaja* children face in public schools;

4. to improve their condition in respect of cleanliness; and

5. to induce them to give up their habit of eating carrion and taking liquor.

The committee expected every Hindu to help in educating public opinion for this work. Those willing to assist in this task were asked to correspond with Shri Jamnalalji at the above address.

Mahatma Gandhi came to Banaras on Wednesday 25th September 1929 and gave a speech. These are some excerpts from his speech:-

"Addressing the untouchables Mahatma Gandhi asked them to have patience. He said that though much work had been done for their betterment, it could not at all be considered satisfactory. As far as he could see, there was no such thing as untouchability in Hindu dharma; on the contrary it was built on the foundation of touchability. Just as one cast off a garment when it got dirty and put on a better one, Hindu dharma could be discarded only if one could find a better dharma.

"He would not mind if anyone addressed him as a Bhangi or a Chamar. One was called thus because of one's occupation. And the occupation of a Bhangi or a Chamar was not a bad one. A doctor also performs similar work, there is no difference between their work and his, but a doctor's occupation cannot be called bad. Doctors charge more for their services, whereas Bhangis take just enough

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for their sustenance. They should pray to God that those who were oppressing them would purify their hearts."

Referring to some undesirable practices prevailing among the untouchables, he said: "No one eats carrion except some of the untouchables. *Achhutoddhar Mandal* should be thanked for trying to wean them from this undesirable habit and they also deserve thanks for giving it up. But it is equally bad to drink alcohol. They could argue that even the doctors and Sahibs drink. But those who are well off escape reproach. Therefore they should not imitate the example of the doctors in this respect. One should not imitate the bad actions of others. These days Malaviyaji is going about purifying them.(The reference was to Madan Mohan Malaviya initiating the untouchables in a purificatory *mantra*.) But the real purification has to be achieved through their own efforts. The awakening amongst their people should not be used for any wrong purpose. One should not accept what is bad nor feel hate or something of the kind for others. They must always try to remove their own imperfections. Once the people find that the fault lies with them and not with the untouchables, they will worship them."

At the *Sanatana Dharma Mahasabha* session held at Prayag on or before 19th January 1933 Malaviyaji delivered a comprehensive speech expounding his plan of liberating the depressed classes. This is his statement:

"The object of the special session of the Sanatana *Dharma Mahasabha* is to focus and voice the most informed and most estimable orthodox opinion on some questions,

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including those relating to the removal of untouchability and temple-entry which has been agitating the *sanatanist* world on one side, and those who are described as reformers on the other. I have been distressed to note differences between the two sides becoming acute, and it is evident that if these differences are unsolved, the Hindu community would be further divided and weakened. The differences are largely due to misunderstanding, and this, in its turn, is due to a great extent on an imperfect knowledge of what the Shastras have laid down for our guidance in important matters in question. It should not be necessary to say that Mahatma Gandhi cannot desire to injure *sanatana dharma*. He has proved to the world that he is willing and determined to throw away even his life in the attempt to serve the country by removing disabilities under which the vast number of those who belong to it labour, so that they may enjoy the full benefit of being Hindus and remain contented and happy members of the community.

"It is equally necessary to say that *sanatanists* who do not agree with Mahatma Gandhi's proposals or methods are not wanting in sympathy with the depressed classes. This being so, I am confident that it is possible to arrive at a solution of the problem in conformity with the Shastras which should be acceptable to both sections of *sanatanist* opinion—more advanced and less advanced—and which should establish peace and religious unity among the Hindu community on a basis that will endure. From statements recently made by Mahatma Gandhi, it is clear

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that he is not only willing, but anxious to show every respect for the orthodox opinion."

From the utterances of several esteemed exponents of *sanatana dharma*, it is also clear that they are willing to move forward to bring about an understanding which will be consistent with the Shastras. This being so, I believe that, by dispassionate consideration of the Shastras by those who claim to expound them, it will be generally conceded that rules of action can be laid down which would secure the most liberal and practicable advance for the humblest Hindu and satisfaction to the most orthodox conservative opinion which is willing to act in conformity not merely with the letter, but also with the spirit of the Shastras. I have convened the Mahasabha with the conviction that such a unity can be brought about among the *sanatanist* Hindus and appeal to all of them to make such contribution to the success of this effort as lies in their power.

"To prevent misunderstanding, I wish to make the position clear. Speaking in 1923 as the President of the Hindu Mahasabha of Holy Kashi in the presence of great gathering of learned and pious men, I pleaded that opportunity should be afforded even to the humblest Hindu to have a purifying and ennobling *darshan* of the deity whom we adore in our temples and offer his prayer to Him. I urged that this may be done in conformity with rules which may be laid down in that behalf and further urged that other disabilities from which the depressed classes suffered should be removed. I still hold the same

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opinion and have publicly repeated it many times during the last few years and last few months, but have never been able to approve of recourse to *satyagraha* with the object of getting the temple opened to the depressed classes. I do not think it right that this kind of pressure should be exerted in a matter where religious convictions and practices come into play. Those who adhere to the orthodox view have also got their convictions which are deep-seated and come down through the ages. I believe that it is the sacred duty of those of us who differ from them to do our best to bring about a change of those convictions. But by the very nature of the case, this duty demands that we should attempt it by resort to peaceful persuasion only.

"This was laid down in a resolution which was passed by the Bombay public meeting held immediately after the Poona Pact over which I presided, and at which, the All-India Anti-untouchability League was established for the purpose of carrying on propaganda against untouchability. That resolution stated that `for this purpose steps should immediately be taken to secure as early as possible that (a) all public wells, schools, roads, sarais, dharmashalas, crematoriums, burning-ghats, etc., should be declared open to the depressed classes and (b) all public temples should be open to members of the depressed classes provided that for carrying out (a) and (b) no force or compulsion be used but resort shall be had only to peaceful persuasion.' It is both just and expedient that the solution of such a question should be one that would satisfy the community as a whole. In my opinion, such a solution can be reached

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only by the method of argument and persuasion with the help of those scholars who are versed in the Shastras and who desire the good of every section of the community. It is to bring about such an agreement and solution that I have invited the special session of the *Sanatana Dharma Mahasabha*, and I am hoping and praying too that God will bless the attempt and crown it with success.

"Towards this end, I intend to place the following concrete proposal before the Mahasabha, that for the uplift of the depressed classes, the following plan may be adopted:-

1a) *Samskar and upadesh*—initiation and instruction—known as *diksha*. This will consist (a) of *prayashchittam*—penance and purification;

b) *tyag*—giving up carrion and beef, leftovers of dishes *(uchchhishta)*, wine;

c) *diksha*—receiving *mantram*, either *ashtakshar mantram* (with or without wearing *tulsi* bead); *panchakshar mantram* (with or without wearing *rudraksha* bead);

d) *Achara grahana*—daily bath and daily prayer (morning and evening), daily reading of the sacred book (teaching every man, woman and child to read and write will be an integral part of the scheme);

e) *vrata*—vows—observing five necessary vows which are prescribed for all castes, *ahimsa, satya, asteya, shaucham* and *indriyanigraha,* (non-injury, truth, non-stealing, purity of body and mind, and control of senses);

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2a) freedom to join public meetings and public schools;

b) use of public wells, roads, parks, sarais, dharmashalas, burning-ghats, etc.; and

c) entry into public temples for *devadarshana* and stuti.

Notes: If the scheme is approved, the giving of *diksha* should be completed within a month. The carrying out of this scheme will mean a great social, religious and spiritual uplift of the classes. It will mean making them Harijans in the full sense of the term. This will be only one of the proposals to be placed before the gathering of *Acharyas* and learned men. There will be many propo-sals before them for their consideration. There is every hope that with God's grace the result of deliberations will be one which will be welcomed with joy by all the followers of *sanatana dharma* and all well-wishers of humanity."

This statement of Malaviyaji was published in *'The Bombay Chronicle'* on 19-1-1933. The following month, the All-India Hindu Mahasabha recorded its approval of his views and the resolution adopted by the *Sanatan Dharma Mahasabha* was approved later by the Anti-untouchability Association at Banaras.

"Now the question arises WHO IS A SANATANIST ? Here is the explanation:-

सत्यं दमस्तपः शौचं संतोषं ह्रीः क्षमार्जवम्
ज्ञानं शमो दया ध्यानमेष धर्मः सनातनः
अद्रोहः सर्वभूतेषु कर्मणा मनसा गिरा
अनुग्रहश्च दानं च सतां धर्मः सनातनः

महाभारत शान्तिपर्व

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"Truth, self-restraint, penance, purity, contentment, modesty, forbearance, uprightness, knowledge, serenity, com-passion and meditation—this is the eternal *(sanatana)* dharma. Freedom from malice towards all creatures, in thought, word and deed, kindness and charity— this is the eternal dharma of the good.

"A *sanatanist* is one who follows the *sanatana dharma*. According to *Mahabharata* it means observance of *ahimsa, satya*, non-stealing, cleanliness and self-restraint." Mahatma Gandhi says, "As I have been endeavouring to follow these to the best of my ability, I have not hesitated to describe myself as a *sanatanist*. But during the anti-untouchability campaign my description of myself as a *sanatanist* was resented by those who opposed me. They styled themselves *sanatanists*. I did not engage in a quarrel over the name. And so I have described the opponents by the name they have chosen for themselves. Now a letter has been received by me from a correspondent writing on behalf of the *Sanatana Dharma Pratinidhi Sabha*, Punjab, protesting against my calling the opponents *sanatanist* which, they say, would imply that all *sanatanists* believe in untouchability and take delight in painting me in black colours. The letter proceeds:

> "To tell the truth it has pained us very much, and we are afraid our religious and social work in the Punjab will suffer. Mahatmaji, you being nearer to Deccan know more of the *sanatanists* of the South than of us of the North. Here, in the Punjab, we have been advocating temple-entry and other facilities to the Harijans. We have obtained *vyavasthas* to this effect from the All-India Sanatana

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Dharma Pratinidhi Sabha Parishad. Our organization, with its 600 branches and 300 Mahabir Dals, has itself worked for this cause. In this province there are very few temples whose *mahants* and *pujaris* refuse the rights of *deva-darshan* to Harijans. You can well imagine how your article can affect our work. The ignorant masses, who cannot differentiate between one *sanatanist* and another have taken us to be your opponents. Our statements and contradictions are of no avail. Your word carries more weight than hundreds of our lectures. We are and have been working for the uplift of Harijans under the guidance of Pt. M. M. Malaviya and Goswami Ganesh Dattaji. I request you to find some other word for those who oppose the Harijan movement. The word *'sanatanist'* does not fit in."

"My correspondent is wrong in thinking that I do not know the *sanatanists* of the North. If Kashi may be considered to be in the North, Kashi has produced stubborn opponents of the reform. The correspondent would be on safe ground if he would confine his remarks to the *sanatanists* of the Punjab. But I should not have thought that anybody could fail to understand the limited sense in which I was using the term. I hope that he has exaggerated the mischief done by my reference to the anti-reformists as *sanatanists*.

"Surely, there should be no difficulty in the Punjab *sanatanists* making their own position clear. In any case, they may use this writing in their support. Indeed, not all the *sanatanists* in the South are opposed to the reform or to me. During the Harijan tour I discovered that the opposition was confined to a microscopic minority, no matter where I went. Their number

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has been further reduced during the intervening years. Rajaji could not have carried his Temple-Entry Bill if he was not supported by overwhelming Hindu opinion. Nor could the great temples of the South have been opened to Harijans if the *sanatanist* opposition had been at all extensive. When, therefore, I refer to *sanatanist* opposition it can only apply to the minority that delights to call itself *sanatanist* and whose occupation is to oppose anti-untouchability reform and blacken my character. I can only pray that their eyes will some day be opened and they will range themselves on the side of reform, which is no less than purification of Hinduism of the taint of untouchability."

On 2nd May 1933 Malaviyaji received a telegram from Gandhiji asking for his blessing for the success of the fast which he was about to undertake for self-purification and for the uplift of Harijans. Gandhiji started his 21 day fast on 8th May 1933 with Malaviyaji's blessings. Gandhiji's fast gave new life to the movement of the uplift of the Harijan. The Congress workers worked vigorously for the removal of untouchability in the whole country. They celebrated 29th May as Harijan Day.

Gandhiji offered individual *satyagraha* instead of group *satyagraha* in the second week of July. He started individual *satyagraha* on 1st August and on the same day he was arrested and was sentenced to a year's imprisonment. He started fast from 16th August in the prison itself. He became sick and was released from prison without any condition. Then he decided to work for the uplift of Harijan during the one year for which he was sentenced to prison.

Gandhiji started his country-wide tour on 9th November 1933 for the uplift of Harijans. During his tour he was warmly

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welcomed but at some places he had a hostile reception from Orthodox *Sanatanists* who sensed danger in his mission. He had covered 12,500 miles on foot and collected eight lakhs of rupees for the work of uplift of Harijan. The places he had visited included Poona, Ahmedabad, Ajmer, Karachi, Lahore, Lucknow and Kanpur. He had found enough evidence of awakening among the Harijans and awareness among the other Hindus of their duties towards Harijans. He requested other Hindus to leave the hatred feeling of untouchability and to behave cordially with Harijan by explaining the religious and ethical nature of the removal of untouchability.

Gandhiji arrived at Banaras on 29th July 1934 on the conclusion of his nine months' long tour. He participated in the momentous meeting of the Congress working Committee. After that he addressed a historic meeting at Central Hindu School, Kamachcha, on Tilak Jayanti day, 1st August 1934. Nearly 50,000 people gathered there to have *darshan* of Gandhiji and to hear the speeches.

A learned scholar Pandit Devanayakacharya of *'Varnashram Swaraj Sangh'* was present in this meeting to speak about the removal of untouchability. He spoke after Gandhiji's speech. He cited various texts in support of the practice of untouchability. He tried to prove the uplift of Harijan is against the Shastra.

Malaviyaji addressed the gathering after him. He paid tributes to the Harijans for their steadfast devotion to the cult of Rama and Krishna, their constant attachment to the Brahman and the cow and their brave resistance to external forces, to detach them from Hinduism. He gave many a proof from the

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Shastras and said that if a human being follows the righteous path then he gets uplifted, whatever caste he may be, that is the greatness of our *Sanatana Dharma*. It is said in the Skanda Purana that a *chandal* (low caste man) of high character was as much entitled to be respected as any Brahman. Valmiki, known to be a scavenger by birth, had been worshipped through the ages as a Rishi. Of the five crore called untouchables only those were untouchables who performed duties of a dirty nature. These, however, were so essential to the life of the community that one dare not contemplate the consequences of their stoppage. Lord Krishna said in Gita:- "स्वे स्वे कर्मण्यभिरतः संसिद्धिं लभते नरः" that means devo-ted each to his own duty, man attains the highest perfection.

Overwhelmed by this speech, Gandhiji embraced Malaviyaji as soon as he finished his speech. After this a book was released at this meeting named *'Antyajoddharvidhi'* written by Malaviyaji.

Note: The author was a student of 10th standard in Central Hindu School at that time. He was very fortunate to have darshan of Gandhiji and Malaviyaji, and to hear their speeches.

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CHAPTER XVII

TEMPLE ENTRY

On November 1, 1932, Subbarayan proposed the Temple Entry Bill which permitted low-caste Hindus and Dalits enter Hindu temples and made their prohibition illegal and punishable. He also passed a copy of the resolution and the proceedings of the Council to Mahatma Gandhi who was in jail. The Viceroy, however, refused permission explaining that temple entry was an all-India problem and should not be dealt with in a provincial basis even while clearing Ranga Iyer's bill. In 1932, C. S. Ranga Iyer passed the Untouchability Abolition Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council. The Temple Entry Bill was not passed until the Indian National Congress came to power in 1937.

There is a divergence of views between Malaviyaji and Gandhiji in regard to temple entry for Harijans. While Gandhiji thought the only means of attaining this object was by legislation, Malaviyaji would not bear legislative interference in socio-religious matters. He would attain the object by persuasion. He also wanted the Bills to be circulated.

Prior to this, on 13th September 1932 when Gandhiji announced his intention to start an indefinite fast in regard to withdrawing the provision for separate electorates for the depressed classes, Malaviyaji issued a statement, summoning

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a conference of Hindu leaders on September 17 and 18 to avert the impending tragic development. Besides issuing a statement, Malaviyaji took immediate steps for securing concessions to Harijans. All the temples in his native town of Allahabad including two belonging to his own family, were thrown open to Harijans on the 14th of September. There was a spontaneous response all over the country and before the conference of Hindu leaders assembled at Bombay, Harijans had been admitted to many celebrated Hindu temples, including the Kali temple of Kalighat in Calcutta, on 16th.

The Hindu leaders' conference was followed by a public meeting of Hindus at Bombay on 30th September under the president-ship of Malaviyaji, and the following resolutions were passed:-

i) an Anti-untouchability League be established with its head office at Delhi and branches in different provincial centres to carry on propaganda against the observance of untouchability;

ii) immediate steps be taken so that:

a) all public wells, dharmashalas, schools, crematoriums, burning ghats be declared open to the depressed classes,

b) all public temples be opened to depressed classes, but no compulsion or force shall be used in (a) and (b).

For Gandhiji, temple entry had become a vital issue inasmuch as he had promised to a *satyagrahi* who had gone on a fast to get entry for Harijans into the great Guruvayur

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temple of Kerala. He issued a statement from Yeravda jail on 5th November, 1932, in which he said:-

> "The major part of the resolutions of the Yeravda Pact (Poona Pact) has to be fulfilled by these millions, the so-called caste Hindus, who have flocked the meetings. It is they who have to embrace the suppressed brethren and sisters as their own, whom they have to invite to their temples, their homes and their schools. The untouchables in the villages should be made to feel that their shackles have been broken, that they are in no way inferior to their fellow villagers, that they are worshippers of the same God as other villagers and are entitled to the same rights and privileges that the latter enjoy."

Gandhiji was distressed with the failure of caste Hindus to fulfil the pledges given in the Poona Pact and expected Malaviyaji, the top signatory of the Pact, to help him.

As mentioned earlier, Malaviyaji had given a statement and summoned the special session of the *Sanatana Dharma Mahasabha*. On the 25th of January 1933 was held the session of the All-India Sanatana Dharma Mahasabha, presided over by Pandit Malaviyaji and attended by over one hundred learned men. It passed a resolution to the effect that Harijans were as much entitled to temple-entry as the rest of the Hindus.

Gandhiji sent a telagram to Malaviyaji on 14th February, 1933 as follows:

> Your letter. I suggest your coming here to discuss important questions before coming to definite conclusions. I consider bills absolutely necessary in terms of the Bombay pledge. They

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do not constitute compulsion, but they restore freedom of conscience. Newspapers publish information that you have written me opposing bills. Do you desire publication of your letter at this stage? awaiting wire. — Gandhi.

Malaviyaji sent a telegram in reply to Gandhiji on 15th February, 1933 was as below:

Thanks telegram. Much as I desire, regret health does not permit journey to Poona at present. I regret I don't agree that Ranga Iyer's bills are necessary even in terms of the Bombay pledge. Part one of the resolution pledges us to support legislation to ensure that those who have been hitherto regarded as untouchable will have the same rights as other Hindus regarding the use of public wells, public schools, public roads, and all other public institutions. These meant dharmasalas, burning grounds, etc. Removal of disability of depressed classes in respect of admission to temples is dealt with separately in second part. Under it, it is the duty of Hindu leaders, who are party to the resolution or accepted it, to secure by every legitimate and peaceful means early removal of all social disabilities now imposed upon the depressed classes including the bar in respect of admission to temples. By contrast with first part, evidently second part did not contemplate legislation in this connection. Please also note proviso resolution passed at the public meeting, Bombay, 30th September. Pyarelal's 'epic fast' (page) 195, which says, provided no compulsion or force shall be used with regard either to opening wells, etc., or temples, but peaceful persuasion will be adopted as the only means. Ranga Iyer's first bill requires careful examination. It is only fair that it should be circulated. His bill relating

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to temple-entry should be withdrawn. I am opposed on principle to even indirect interference by legislature in the management of our temples. I am also opposed to the bill because of the very wrong principle it lays down that the question of throwing open temples to any caste which has hitherto been excluded from it shall be decided by votes of a majority of Hindu voters of the area in which it is situated and that their opinion shall be binding on the trustees of the temple and all worshippers therein. I consider it absolutely wrong and unjust to decide a question which is one of religion and conscience by vote of majority. This will be nothing but compulsion. We must solve this question by way of religion i.e., by peaceful persuasion only. I am certain we shall succeed by this method. I am equally certain that the method of legislation will be strongly opposed to the last and will delay fulfilment of object we have in view. In view of totality of circumstances consider your releasing my letter and this wire for publication desirable. If you think it fit, you may support proposal for circulation in view of the feelings aroused and of the justice of proceedings with goodwill among all sections of the community. — Malaviya

Malaviyaji wrote a letter in reply to Gandhiji's personal request in which he contended that there was no question of legislation to secure for the Harijans the right to enter temples for worship, but only to ensure them the right to use wells.

Gandhiji wrote on 18th February 1933 an article under the caption 'Agreeing to Differ'; some portions of it are as given below:

"There are some whose friendship and co-operation I prize beyond measure. One of such men is Pandit Malaviyaji,

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whom from the time that we first met I have recognized as an elder brother. Nevertheless, it has been often my misfortune to disagree with him. Our disagreement, however, has never in the slightest degree diminished our mutual affection.

"The correspondence published below will show the reader how we have again found it necessary to differ. Conscience is a hard taskmaster.

"I do not propose to deal with all the points covered in the correspondence. I would confine myself to the vital matter referred to in it, viz., the interpretation of the Bombay Resolutions. In my opinion, with all the deference that I owe to Malaviyaji, I feel that the Bombay Resolution which I give below has only one meaning. Under it, responsible Hindus are bound to give to the Harijans through law that which only law can give. This they are bound to do now, if at all possible, and wait for the swaraj Parliament only if the legal relief becomes an impossibility now. It cannot be considered an impossibility till all effort humanly possible has been made.

"Let me repeat for the hundredth time that there is a legal bar against temple-entry which cannot be removed by any agreement on the part of all the Hindus combined. A legal bar can only be removed by a legislative act. What an agreement amongst Hindus can do is to move the Government to give effect to it as was done in connection with the political part of the Yeravda Pact. Those caste Hindus who strained themselves to ensure recognition of the political part of the Yeravda Pact are now doubly bound to give effect to the other resolutions which were the direct and natural consequence of the Yeravda Pact; and since in the course of complying with

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those resolutions it has been discovered that there is a legal difficulty which was not foreseen then, that difficulty has got to be removed at the earliest possible moment. Hence the two Bills.

"But, says Malaviyaji, temple-entry, the opening of wells, etc., had to be done by persuasion, not by compulsion. I quite agree, but to remove a legal bar is not to do the desired thing by compulsion. There is the Madura temple. If I am correctly informed, the trustees of that temple are elected by the Hindu voters. They are pledged to open the temple. By an overwhelming majority, the Hindu voters have desired the opening of the temple. But, because of the legal bar, the trustees cannot open the temple to the Harijans. Will it be compulsion to have that legal bar removed by law? .....If the Bills are defective, the defect can be remedied. I have submitted the Bills to two eminent lawyers for their opinion. ..... I have also approached Dr. Sapru, and I betray no confidence when I inform the public that he has already expressed his opinion in emphatic terms in favour of the second Bill, i.e., the Temple-entry Bill, to which Malaviyaji has taken strong exception. Dr. Sapru sees no compulsion in it.

"Malaviyaji suggests that the Bills be circulated. I have not been able to follow his reasoning. If the Bills were of a compulsory character, I should not only support circulation, but perhaps I should oppose their introduction altogether. But the Bills are purely of a permissive character. They pave the way for ascertaining Hindu opinion in accordance with rules laid down in the law itself."

Since failure to get the Bill through was sure to lead to a fast by Gandhiji which most people feared he could not

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survive, strenuous efforts were made to get Malaviyaji's support for the Bill. Gandhiji himself wrote to him and asked Rajagopalachari, Jamnalal Bajaj, Birla and others who had influence with Malaviyaji to persuade him but there was no effect.

Gandhiji admitted that the resolution passed by the Bombay meeting of 30th September 1932 under Malaviyaji's presidentship contemplated the immediate opening of temples to the Harijans 'with persuasion' but asked what was to be done when persuasion failed. He was not sure that persuasion would succeed even after attainment of freedom. Malaviyaji however, remained uncompromising.

Malaviyaji said on 1st August 1934, at a meeting held at Central Hindu School, Kamachcha, on Tilak Jayanti day, referring to his disagreement with Gandhiji in regard to the Temple Entry Bill that he would discuss it with Gandhiji and that the question of temple entry, being a socio-religious question, had better be decided in accordance with the injunctions of the Shastras than by legislation.

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CHAPTER XVIII

WHITE PAPER

The troubling times for the Congress which began in January 1932 slowly started to fade from September 1933. During Gandhiji's Harijanoddhar tour the situation in the nation had become quite normal. Meanwhile the third session of the Round Table Conference was held in London from 17th November 1932 to 24th December 1932. Later a White Paper was published on 17th March 1933 which contained the proposals of the British Government to bring in administrative reforms in India.

On 9th May 1934, Malaviyaji broadcast a statement from Lahore, criticizing the White Paper in the following words:- "Its purpose is apparently to make provision for an answerable Government. However, keeping all powers with the representatives of the British Government, and laying such a foundation for the Indian Constitution, a popular self-rule or accountable Government shall never be established. And India can never achieve freedom, not even a dominion status."

In June 1934 the Working Committee of the Congress passed a resolution regarding the White Paper and the Communal Award brought out by the British Government. It was announced in that resolution that the White Paper in no way expressed

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the will of the people of India. Every Indian political party had more or less condemned it; it fell far short of the goals of the Congress. The only satisfactory alternative of the White-Paper is a Constitution drawn upon by a Constitution Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage. If necessary, the representatives of important minority communities elected by their respective electorates could be included in this Assembly.

Also it was said that with the White Paper lapsing, the Communal Award must lapse automatically. Among other things, it would be the duty of the Constituent Assembly to determine the method of representation of important minorities and make provision for otherwise safeguarding their interests.

Regarding the Communal Award by MacDonald, it was expressed that it was full of blunders but considering the present situation the Congress neither accepts nor rejects the Communal Award.

Malaviyaji was against this decision. He wanted the Congress to declare the rejection of the Communal Award in clear terms. But at that time, the Congress leaders were not agreed upon this. Hence Malaviyaji and his colleague Mr. M.S. Aney resigned from the Congress Parliamentary Board and the Congress Working Committee respectively. Both of them decided that, for the benefit of the nation, powerful protests should be started immediately against the Communal Award.

Consequently a meeting of Nationalists was held under the President-ship of Malaviyaji on 18th and 19th August 1934 in Calcutta in which it was decided to form the "Congress Nationalist Party" with the object of carrying on agitation against

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the Communal Award and the White Paper and of setting up candidates for election to the Legislative Assembly for the promotion of this object. Explaining the necessity of this new Party Malaviyaji published a comprehensive statement in which he said–

1. His resignation from the Congress Parliamentary Board does not mean that he has ended his association with the Congress for his lifetime. He has no differences with the Congress in any matter other than the Communal Award.

2. The policy accepted by the Congress Working Committee and the Parliamentary Board regarding this Communal Award is completely contrary to those policies and principles which the Congress has followed and nurtured from its very beginning. This policy is inevitably "severely harmful" for the benefit of the nation and "especially unacceptable for the Hindus".

3. The party which they want to form will work on the basis of patriotic feelings only. The party will always support the efforts for arriving at a unanimous decision on communal award.

4. Their party supports the recommendations of the 'Nehru Report', and the party will function on the scheme of the Congress which Gandhiji placed before the Round Table Conference during the discussion on Communal Award in July 1931, and which was supported by all patriotic Muslims of the country.

The Annual Session of the Congress was held in Bombay during 26th to 28th October, 1934. Dr. Rajendra Prasad was

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elected the President of this Session. This was the first regular session of the Congress after 1931 and a participation of more than one lakh people was expected. In view of these the arrangements were made in grand proportions. A Congress town was built near the sea-shore of Bombay. A very huge Pandal was constructed. The Session started in an extremely enthusiastic environment. The main discussion was on the matter related to the Communal Award and the White Paper. The issues related to the upcoming election for the Central Assembly were also part of the Agenda.

Resolutions were put forward on all the three matters. Malaviyaji proposed an amendment opposing the resolution about the Communal Award. He said that the argument that with the lapse of White Paper, the Communal Award will also get elapsed is wrong. These two were completely separate issues. The British Government had clarified that though there could be changes in the White Paper, the Communal Award is their final decision. The uncertain stand of the Congress regarding the Communal Award would indirectly result in its acceptance.

He also recalled his efforts for solving communal problems in 1932 through Unity Conference which was almost successful and expressed his readiness to continue his efforts in this regard. His opinion was that it is not a good practice to go to a stranger for solving a simple internal dispute.

A lot of members supported his notion. Many opposed too. Finally, the Congress accepted the original resolution with a high majority which resolved that till there is a dispute in the Congress, it neither accepts nor rejects the Communal Award.

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The Congress discarded the White Paper. Regarding the participation in the Councils, Gandhiji was of the opinion that if the Congress gave attention only to the work of the Councils, then it would not be possible to get *Swaraj*. *Swaraj* could only come through spreading the awareness in the masses. But he observed that a lot of people were in favour of working in the Councils. So he agreed to give permission to the members of the Congress to participate in the elections and enter the Councils. A Parliamentary Board consisting of 25 members was formed and it was decided that this Board will work under the All India Congress Committee.

Sardar Patel requested Malaviyaji to dissolve the Congress Nationalist Party but Malaviyaji did not agree to this. He made it clear that his campaign against the Communal Award would continue. At the time of organizing the Nationalist Party itself Malaviyaji agreed to Gandhiji's suggestion that he should not part with the Congress but he is free to work against the Communal Award and put in his efforts to repeal it.

The election for the Central Assembly was just after the commencement of the Bombay Session. Many of the Congress members of Bihar, United Provinces, Punjab, Maharashtra were in support of Malaviyaji regarding the Communal Award. But there was no time to organize the Congress Nationalist Party in these states. By the time of the election, Malaviyaji was able to strengthen his Party only in Bengal and saw quite some success there. His Party won on 11 seats. Totally, the Congress got 44 seats. Malaviyaji continued his propaganda against the Communal Award even after the elections. Through his efforts, a conference against the Communal Award was organized in Delhi on 23rd and 24th February 1935.

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WHITE PAPER

In a new development, the British Parliament passed a new administrative act for India (Government of India Act 1935) on 4th August 1935. Accordingly there was a possibility of elections for the Legislative Councils of all Indian States in the beginning of 1937. At the Annual Session of the Congress from 14th to 16th April 1936 under the president-ship of Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress decided to take part in these elections and win maximum number of seats to make it clear to the British Government that only the Congress is the sole representative of the people of India.

In August 1936, the Congress published its election manifesto. It said- "Rejection of the Act involves rejection of the Communal Award which is wholly unacceptable, being inconsistent with independence and the principle of democracy. It encourages fissiparous and disruptive tendencies, hinders normal growth and strikes at the root of Indian unity. Ultimately it probably injures most those groups whom it is meant to favour. The only party that profits by it is the third party which rules and exploits us. The attitude of the Congress is not that of indifference or neutrality. It disapproves strongly of the Communal decision and would like to end it."

"Attempts of one group to get some communal favour from the British Government at the expense of another group results in increased communal tension and exploitation of both groups by the Government."

The manifesto also mentioned: "To oppose the situation which arose by this Communal Award in a proper way, we have to make our freedom fight more intensive and simultaneously we have to find out some solution to solve this problem

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which will be agreeable to all castes and communities, and by which the foundation of India's unity will become strong." The Congress also made it clear that it will vote against the Communal Award whenever necessary.

This declaration of the Congress was a major triumph for Malaviyaji. The Congress and the Congress Nationalists had differences only on the question of the Communal Award. Now this difference disappeared. Any way in the Central Assembly the Nationalists stood with the Congress on all other matters.

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CHAPTER XIX

SILVER JUBILEE

The Banaras Hindu University was completing twenty-five years of its existence on the *Vasant Panchami* day in 1942. This auspicious day was falling on the 21st of January, 1942. It was decided that, apart from other activities which might be associated with the celebrations, the main official function of the University should be in the form of a Special Silver Jubilee Convocation on that day. It was also decided that Mahatma Gandhi should be requested to deliver the Silver Jubilee Address. Gandhiji accepted the request of the University.

The Special Silver Jubilee Convocation was to be held at two in the afternoon of the 21st January. People started assembling in the huge special *pandal* erected for the function in the Amphitheatre grounds. The news of Mahatma Gandhi's coming to the University had reached every nook and corner of the adjoining districts and thousands of persons from distant villages had arrived to have his *darshan* and to listen to him. The *pandal* was packed to its utmost capacity.

A few minutes before 2 P.M. the Pro. Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and the members of the Senate walked in procession to the *pandal* and took their seats.

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Amidst tremendous ovation, Mahatma Gandhi entered the *pandal* and was escorted to the dais. Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya were seated on special seats on the dais. A distinguished galaxy of national leaders, public men, educationists and administrators were also seated on the dais.

The proceedings began with a prayer. The Pro-Chancellor requested Mahatma Gandhi to address the Convocation after the welcome address and the reading of the messages. Gandhiji addressed the audience in Hindi which was not very different from the one he had made on the Foundation day of the University in 1916. He spoke of the importance of Hindi language and the need for Hindu-Muslim unity. His speech was as follows:

"Revered Malaviyaji, Sir Radhakrishnan, Brothers and Sisters,

"You all know very well that I have neither the physical strength nor the inclination to undertake a long journey, and yet when I received Sir Radhakrishnan's invitation to deliver an address on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee Convocation of the Banaras Hindu University I had not the heart to decline it. You know the strong bond of affection that binds me to Malaviyaji, and it is with a certain amount of pride and satisfaction that I obey his behest whenever it is at all possible for me. I therefore could not say 'no', Sir Radhakrishnan's letter was a call to a pilgrimage.

"Great as are Malaviyaji's services to the country, I have no doubt that this University constitutes his greatest

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service and achievement, and he has worn himself out for the work that is dear to him as life itself. It was out of my great regard for him that twenty-five years ago I accepted his invitation to attend the foun-dation ceremony of this University. I knew that in that august function, which was to be attended by the Viceroy and the ruling Princes of India, there was no place for a poor man like me. I had not then been made a Mahatma, and if anyone called me by that name, I knew I must have been mistaken for Mahatma Munshiramji, as the late Swami Shraddhanand was then called. For there cannot be a number of Mahatmas, and I knew even when I was in South Africa that Munshiramji's great work had entitled him to that name. But Malaviyaji has a knack for detecting servants of the people, however obscure they may be, and bringing them into his fold. This is his usual trick.

"Everyone knows that there is no greater beggar than Malaviyaji on the face of the earth. He has never begged for himself; by the grace of God he has never been in want, but he became a voluntary beggar for causes he has made his own, and God has always filled his bowl in an overflowing measure. But he has an insatiable appetite, and although he got a crore and ten lakhs instead of the crore he wanted he is still asking for more. Even at this moment he whispered into my ears that he had a good donation from the Maharaja of Darbhanga, our Chairman.

"I know how Malaviyaji leads his own life. It has been my privilege to be acquainted with every aspect of

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his life. It is a rare good fortune to have him still in our midst, a living example of a pure life of plain living and high thinking; the students particularly can draw many a lesson from his life but I have a fear that, though he is physically in your midst, many of you are untouched by his great example. The fault is wholly ours, not his. The sun radiates heat and light to all on earth, but how can even the sun help those who will shut themselves from him? But I am not here to sing Malaviyaji's praises. This platform has rung with them. He has deserved them all.

"I must now address a few words to you—the teachers and the students of the Vidyapith. When I accepted Sir Radhakrishnan's invitation he had asked me to send a copy of my address to him. I told him that I had no time to write anything, I did not even know what I should be able to say. A feeling of nervousness overpowers me when I am in the midst of learned men. Ever since my return to India my lot has been cast among the poor and the downtrodden—those whom the Congress represents—and whilst in their midst I feel no sense of constraint or hesitation, in your midst I feel tongue-tied. I simply said to Sir Radhakrishnan that I should trust to the inspiration of the moment. That inspiration has come, but I do not know how you will welcome my plain-speaking.

"As speaker after speaker spoke and left the dais, I longed for someone who would address the audience in Hindi or Urdu, or Hindustani, aye, even in Sanskrit,—even in Marathi, or for that matter in any of the Indian languages. But no such good luck befell me and you.

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Why? We are slaves and have hugged the language of those who have kept us enslaved. It has become a fashion to blame the Englishmen for all our ills. I have not hesitated to blame them for many things they have done. I have never charged them with compelling us to adopt English as the medium of expression. We devote precious years of our lives to learning the English language, our ambition being to be able to speak English as Englishmen, and our breast swells with pride when an Englishman pats us on our back for speaking flawless English. Think of the time and energy of our youth expended on learning the English language, as if it was our mother tongue, and calculate by simple multiplication the number of years and the volume of precious energy that are lost to the nation.

"And yet all this is happening in the Banaras Hindu University which has been extolled today as the living embodiment of Indian culture. Malaviyaji did all that was necessary to draw the best possible teachers by attractive salaries, but he could not do the rest. It was not his fault that Hindi did not take the place of English. The teachers are the product of the tradition which they have inherited, and the students are content to accept what they get from them. They need not be. They go on strikes and even hunger-strikes, often for trivial reasons. Why will they not insist on having their tuition in the all-India language? There are, we were told today, 250 students here from the Andhra Province. Let them go to Sir Radhakrishnan and ask for an Andhra section of the University and ask to be taught through the medium of Telugu if they will not learn the all-India language.

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"You know what has happened in Japan—a country which I do not regard as essentially great—but which is regarded as great in Asia in that it has successfully challenged the supremacy of America and England. The thousands of boys and girls in the Japanese schools and colleges receive their education not through the medium of English but through Japanese. Their script is difficult, but it is no bar to their learning it and they have not given it up in preference to the Roman. Not that they boycott English and other European languages. But they economize their energy. Those who need to learn them do so for enriching the Japanese thought with knowledge which the West alone can give. They take care to turn into Japanese all that is worth taking from the West. That is because the mind of Japan's youth is fresh and alert. The knowledge gained thus has become national property. Our ambition does not go beyond becoming clerks in Government offices, lawyers, barristers, judges, all helplessly serving the system they would fain destroy. And we have not succeeded either in mastering the English language. I get numerous letters from English-educated people—some of them possessing the highest degrees of our universities—but they betray a woeful ignorance of the English language. The reason is simple. Malaviyajis and Radhakrishnans are rare, and the thousands cannot achieve what they have done.

"As I was listening to the English speeches I was amazed at the patience and innate courtesy of our people who, though they do not understand a word of what is said, do not mob us, as they well might do. If there is any

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doubt in your minds about this, I can demonstrate to you by a show of hands how few—even from among the students—have followed the proceedings here.

"I cannot help saying a word about the sight that greets you as you enter the great portals of the University. Thanks to the money that Malaviyaji can get for the asking, the gate is in consonance with the splendour of the edifices here. But what did I find on the top of the gate?—the bulk of the space (three-fourths) taken up by the words BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY in English, and one-fourth given to the inscription in Hindi which is the language through which you would derive your knowledge. I wondered what need there was of the English language? Just a little thought on the part of those who were in charge of such things would have been enough to tell them that what was needed there was the name written in Devanagari and Persian scripts— which would have symbolized to the people the desire on the part of Malaviyaji's University and Sir Radhakrishnan for communal harmony. It would have been in the fitness of things too, as both Hindi and Urdu are understood in this region and both the scripts are familiar. The fact is the years we have wasted on English have ossified our minds and stunted our memory and imagination.

"Surely it is no difficult thing for a non-Hindi-speaking person to learn Hindi or Hindustani. I can undertake to teach Hindi to anyone knowing Gujarati, Bengali or Marathi in the space of three months. Even the South Indian languages—Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada—are full

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of Sanskrit words and, if there was just a little fervour and love of the country in us, we should not hesitate to decide to write all the Sanskrit-derived languages as also the Southern group in the Devanagari script. These languages have not only a fairly common vocabulary, there is also a striking resemblance in the scripts. If our minds were not fagged, we would easily know half a dozen Indian languages. Then there is Urdu which should not be difficult to learn, if only our Urdu scholars did not make it a matter of pride to pack it with Persian and Arabic words, as the pundits pack Hindi with Sanskrit words.

"One more thought I should like to leave with you. Every university is supposed to have its tradition, its distinctive feature— Oxford and Cambridge, for instance, have theirs. But I am afraid our universities are the blotting-sheets of the West. We have borrowed the superficial features of the Western universities, and flattered ourselves that we have founded living universities here. Do they reflect or respond to the needs of the masses? Now I am told that a special feature of your University is that engineering and technology are taught here as nowhere else. I should not consider this a distinguishing feature. Let me make a suggestion to you. Have you been able to attract to your University youths from Aligarh? Have you been able to identify yourselves with them? That, I think, should be your special work, the special contribution of your University. Money has come in, and more will come in if God keeps Malaviyaji in our midst for a few more years. But no amount of money will achieve the miracle I want—I mean a heart-unity between Hindus

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and Muslims. I would like you to go out to invite Mussalmans to come here, and not to mind if they reject your advances. You are the representatives of a great civilization which according to Lokamanya Tilak is 10,000 years old and according to later scholars even older. The special contribution of that civilization is to befriend the world, to turn so-called foes into friends. Our civilization has absorbed, like the holy Ganga, many streams from outside, and it is my prayer that the Hindu University which is endeavouring to represent Hindu culture and Hindu civilization may invite and absorb all that is best in other cultures and be a model to all of communal unity and harmony. That should be its distinctive feature. English will not help you to evolve this. It is our own ancient learning that will teach you this—our scriptures learnt and understood in the proper spirit.

"One thing more and I have done. You are living in palatial hostels, but you should not get used to living in palaces. Look at the little house in which Panditji lives in utter simplicity and without the least splendour. You enter his room. There is no decoration and only the barest furniture. You, who will be his heirs, should model your lives accordingly. Many of you are children of poor parents. Don't forget that you have to represent the poor, and that therefore a life of ease and luxury is inconsistent with the poverty of our land. May you be all models of plain and simple living and high thinking like Malaviyaji. May God bless you with long life and the wisdom to carry out what I have said, if it has appealed to you."

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Amidst deafening cheers, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Rector of the University then delivered the following speech:-

"Ladies and gentlemen,

"I am very grateful to Gandhiji for having found time to grace the occasion today and give us the benefit of his advice by delivering the Silver Jubilee address.

"God in his infinite mercy gave us the idea of starting a Hindu University and it is due to Him that the University has achieved its present progress. You have heard in brief what progress this University has made so far. We have collected up to date about Rs. One crore and sixty lakhs. Forty lakhs more has to be collected to complete the second crore and I am hopeful that this amount will also be collected. At least five crores of rupees are needed to run a first class University.

"I am grateful to all my friends who have helped the University by money, suggestions and in any other way and express our most grateful thanks to them. It is not possible for me to express my thanks to every individual and I do not know in what words I should thank them. I can only pray to God to shower His blessings on those who have in any way helped this University and pray that the progress of the University in the future should be much more than what it has been so far.

"Gandhiji has told us to what extent harm has been done to the country by adopting a foreign tongue as our medium of instruction. We all know how many years we

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have to waste to have our education through foreign language. It has been one of our objects in this University to impart the highest type of education through Hindi. Seth Ghanshyam Das Birla generously gave us Rs. 50,000/- for preparing books in Hindi and we have prepared some books. We are all agreed that mother tongue should be the medium of instruction but we are so much in the grips of the English language that it will take some time to replace it by our own language. The lesson of today's Convocation is that the progress of Hindustan can only be attained by adopting Hindi. I assure Gandhiji that as we are able to get more and more books in Hindi, we shall adopt Hindi as the medium of instruction in this University.

"Mahatmaji has exhorted the students to adopt plain living. He has instilled in the minds of his countrymen the love for plain living by adopting and preaching the use of khaddar. It is necessary for all of us to adopt plain living. But students in particular should adopt and live the ideal of plain living.

"While concluding I pray to the Almighty to keep us steadfast in Dharma, to instil in us love for our country and that the University may continue to get support and help which it has so far been receiving."

Concluding the proceedings of the Special Convocation and proposing a vote of thanks, the Vice-Chancellor Professor Sir Radhakrishnan delivered a philosophical speech in his usual style and said:-

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भवद्विधाः भागवतास्तीर्थभूताः स्वयंविभो तीर्थीकुर्वन्ति तीर्थानि

"With these two great men, Malaviyaji and Gandhiji on our dais, men touched by grace, sanctified by spirit, this city of Banaras already holy becomes holier."

The special Convocation then came to an end.

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CHAPTER XX

QUIT INDIA

Within a couple of months of the celebrations of the Silver Jubilee of the Banaras Hindu University, very important political developments took place in the country. The world war spread to the Pacific and the Japanese had occupied South-East Asia. It was feared that the tide of the Japanese conquest would soon be sweeping into India. The British Government wanted to have the fullest co-operation of the Indian people to avert the danger. They decided to send Sir Stafford Cripps to India on a mission. He arrived in Delhi on 22nd March, 1942 with a plan of the British Government for India. The proposals in effect were:

1. That in order to achieve the earliest possible realization of self-government in India, steps should be taken to create a new Indian Union which will have the full status of a dominion with the power to secede, if it so chooses, from the British Commonwealth.

2. That immediately upon the cessation of hostilities a constitution-making body should be set up, representing both British India and States, and that the British Government undertakes to accept and implement the constitution framed by that body on two conditions: (a) Any province

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or provinces which do not acquiesce in the new constitution will be entitled to frame a constitution of their own giving them the same full status as the Indian Union; and any Indian State or States should be similarly free to adhere to the new constitution or not, (b) A treaty should be negotiated between the British Government and the constitution-making body to cover all matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands.

3. In the meantime, the British Government must retain control of the defence of India as part of their world war effort, but the task of organising the military, moral and material resources of India would rest with the Government of India in cooperation with the people and to that end they invite the immediate participation of their leaders in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations.

Sir Stafford Cripps carried on discussions with Gandhiji and the leaders of all the political parties. The negotiations continued for seventeen days from March 25 to April 10, 1942. But the talks failed and Sir Stafford Cripps left for London on the 12th of April.

The All India Congress Committee then met at Allahabad towards the end of April and passed a resolution "that any proposal to disintegrate India by giving liberty to any component state or territorial unit to secede from the Indian Union or federation will be detrimental to the best interests of the people of the different states and provinces and the country as a

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whole and the Congress, therefore, cannot agree to any such proposal." The All India Congress Committee passed another resolution that in case an invasion took place, it must be resisted by non-violent non-cooperation to the invading forces and not to render any assistance to them.

Gandhiji made an appeal to the British to retire from every Asiatic and African possession, and at least from India.

The Congress Working Committee met in Bombay in the first week of August 1942 and adopted the 'Quit India' resolution. It was then placed before the All-India Congress Committee which met on 7th August. Jawaharlal Nehru moved the resolution and on 8th August, amidst loud and continued cheers, it was declared passed. The Congress resolved to sanction, "for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence, the starting of the mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale, so that the country might utilize all non-violent strength it has gathered during the last twenty-two years of peaceful struggle", inevitably under the leadership of Gandhiji and requested him "to take the lead and guide the nation in the steps to be taken."

The object of the Satyagraha was to secure the withdrawal of British rule and the attainment of independence for the whole of India. Gandhiji declared that every satyagrahi should understand before his joining the struggle that he is to ceaselessly carry on the struggle till independence is achieved; that he should vow that he will be free or die. "Do or Die" was the *Mantra* given by him. Gandhiji called upon all the students studying in the institutions conducted or controlled by the

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Government to come out of those institutions and asked those who were above sixteen years of age to join the Satyagraha.

Immediately after the passing of the resolution by the All-India Congress Committee the Government of India announced on the 8th of August, their determination to meet the challenge contained in the Congress resolution.

The Satyagraha was to be started only on the failure of the negotiations contemplated to be carried on by Gandhiji with the Government. But the Government did not wait even for a moment. Gandhiji was arrested early in the morning of the 9th August. The members of the Congress Working Committee were also taken into custody. This was followed by the arrest of hundreds of Congress leaders throughout the country.

The people became desperate and mad with fury, and disturbances started everywhere.

The Banaras Hindu University was also naturally disturbed by the wave of excitement and indignation. Processions were taken out. Classes became empty. Students were advised to keep calm and not to participate in anti-social and violent activities. Malaviyaji was witness to the happenings in the University and entirely disapproved of them. He addressed the students in spite of his feeble health and asked, "Are you believers in Gandhiji's teachings or not?" There were cries of "Yes". Malaviyaji felt delighted. Then he urged, "Avoid doing anything against Gandhiji's principles". He condemned acts of sabotage, like burning of Post offices, railway stations etc. He said, "How does that help the cause? It is a waste of public money and will have to be rebuilt at public expense, besides the inconvenience caused to the members of the public."

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The movement was met with severe repression on the part of the Government. Normal law was suspended, martial law and ordinances took its place. Malaviyaji was physically incapable of taking any active part in resisting the Government's repressive measures. He suffered mental torture and shed tears over the fate which had overtaken his people.

Banaras Hindu University observed the first anniversary of the arrest of the Congress Working Committee by a meeting of the staff and the students. Malaviyaji made a powerful speech, asking the students to join the struggle for freedom. Answering the Vice-Chancellor's anxiety he said, "What is the use of studies when the country is in the clutches of slavery." He said that Gandhiji had appealed to him to lend his help to the cause.

The continued imprisonment of the Congress leaders including Gandhiji caused uneasiness everywhere. Malaviyaji forcefully urged the release of Gandhiji and his colleagues in the Congress Working Committee. He persistently pleaded for the release of Gandhiji and wrote to the Viceroy asking for it. His efforts were appreciated by the historian of the Congress in these words:

> "Then came the grand old man of India, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, ripe in years as he is in wisdom, to demand the release of Gandhiji and his colleagues. He staked the demand upon a reply reported to have been sent by Gandhiji to the charge-sheet furnished by Government."

Gandhiji was released on 6th May, 1944 on medical grounds. Malaviyaji issued a statement from Allahabad on 8th May saying

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that he was greatly relieved to know that Gandhiji had been released.

There was a drastic change in the politics after Gandhiji's release. Gandhiji wrote to the Viceroy saying that he was prepared to renounce civil disobedience and fully cooperate in the war effort if a declaration regarding India's independence was immediately made, a national Government was formed and India was not called upon to bear more than its existing burden of military expenditure. These proposals were not accepted because he demanded immediate independence.

The ban on Congressmen attending the legislatures was lifted in the last months of 1944. Finally Congressmen returned to the Central Legislature in November and in alliance with the Muslim League members imposed a number of conditions on the Government. The leaders of the two parties in the Assembly, Bhulabhai Desai and Liaqat Ali Khan came to an agreement known as Desai-Liaqat Ali Pact.

The All-Parties conference organized by a dedicated and prominent group of patriots had received no consideration from the Viceroy. It appointed a Conciliation Committee of 29 members in October 1944. The Committee invited the co-operation of all and sundry. Gandhiji was helpful and had indeed suggested the move.

The Committee drafted a scheme. It contemplated the framing of the constitution by a Constituent Assembly of 160 members of whom 51 would be Muslims, 51 caste Hindus, 20 scheduled caste Hindus, 8 Sikhs, 7 Indian Christians, 2 Anglo-Indians, one European, one representative of other minorities,

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3 representatives of backward areas and tribes and 16 representatives of various special interests like commerce, industry, Zamindars, universities, labour and women.

Several other schemes were suggested as alternatives to the partition of the country. The object of all these schemes was to secure unity of the country by conceding the maximum protection and privilege to the minorities, specially the Muslims.

The proposal of the special concession to the Muslims was not acceptable to Malaviyaji. The organizers of the All-Parties Conference tried to persuade Hindu leaders, Jayakar and Malaviyaji to agree to these concessions for the sake of the country's unity. Malaviyaji was not prepared to barter away Hindu interests. Despite his failing health he made up his mind to re-enter active politics with a view to organizing the Hindus for the task of protecting their interests.

Malaviyaji drew little comfort from the return of congressmen to political activity and recovery of some of the ground they had lost. But this was dissipated by other developments. The Desai-Liaqat Ali Pact had been secured by a promise that Muslims could have Pakistan if they so desired at the end of the war. The Congress-League alliance in the legislature gave promise of laws being enacted on socio-religious subjects to which Malaviyaji was opposed in principle. He issued a statement on 18th February, 1945, objecting to the Hindu Code Bill which was before the Central Legislative Assembly:

> "I have already expressed my opinion that the proposals before the Legislative Assembly to change the present Hindu laws are quite harmful to the society. An

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institution, the members of which belong to all religions and communities especially the present Legislative Assembly, has no right to bring about revolutionary changes in the present laws of the Hindus."

Proposals that were being put forward regarding the future constitution implied either acceptance of Pakistan or offering special concession to Muslims. The increasing momentum which the Pakistan movement was gaining caused Malaviyaji intense worry. His major worry was how to prevent a division of the country which was the demand of the Muslim League under Jinnah's leadership, and which the British Government was using as a lever to bend the Congress.

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CHAPTER XXI

THE LAST MEETING OF THE MAHAMANA AND THE MAHATMA

Malaviyaji was spending the first half of the last year of his life in Allahabad. He made a journey to Delhi from there in April, 1946 to meet the British Cabinet Mission and to entreat Congress leaders not to agree to a partition of the country. There was evidence of many persons who visited Malaviyaji as to the weak state of his health, his fading memory and his feeble voice. He was unable to walk and could speak only with great difficulty. But, at the same time, he was worried about the future of the country and particularly of the Hindu community. It was this anxiety which forced him to pay a visit to Delhi when the negotiations with the Cabinet Mission were in progress.

On reaching Delhi, Malaviyaji wanted to see Gandhiji in Bhangi Nivas, but Gandhiji anticipated him by meeting him at 5, Canning Road. Gandhiji had heard that a lot of people came and disturbed Malaviyaji's peace by retailing all kinds of idle rumours. So he met Malaviyaji on April 18, 1946 and said:-

"You would have covered me with shame if you had come to me instead of my going to you. Why do you lend

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a ready ear to such gossip? Why can't you take a leaf out of my book? If someone comes to me and talks to me about the Indian States, I send him off to Pandit Nehru. If it is about internal politics of the Congress, I give him Azad's address. In this way, I have rigorously restricted my ambit of work. Even so, I have hardly a moment's respite. Unless I did, that would have to give up the desire to live up to the age of 125, which I must not do, if any dream of non-violence as a world-conquering force is to be realized. You are a man of religion and purity of soul. It should need no argument on my part to convince you that if you completely empty your mind of outward things and fixing all your thoughts on Him inwardly pray, you will have more than contributed your share to the struggle for independence. You must complete your century. It is perfectly feasible if you will listen to my advice."

Malaviyaji responded to Gandhiji's remarks with a smile: "I must not engage you in talk any further," he remarked, "I know you are always busy."

Again Gandhiji paid a visit to Malaviyaji on April 29, 1946 seeking his blessings before his departure for Simla to which place the Cabinet Mission was shifting for the summer. It was a Monday; as it was Gandhiji's silence day, he communicated what he had to say in writing. Their conversation reveals Gandhiji's deep affection for him and Malaviyaji's persistence of purpose. Their conversation was as below:

In reply to Gandhiji's question as to what he proposed to do since the venue of the Cabinet Mission talks, was going to be shifted to Simla, Malaviyaji said he would be returning to

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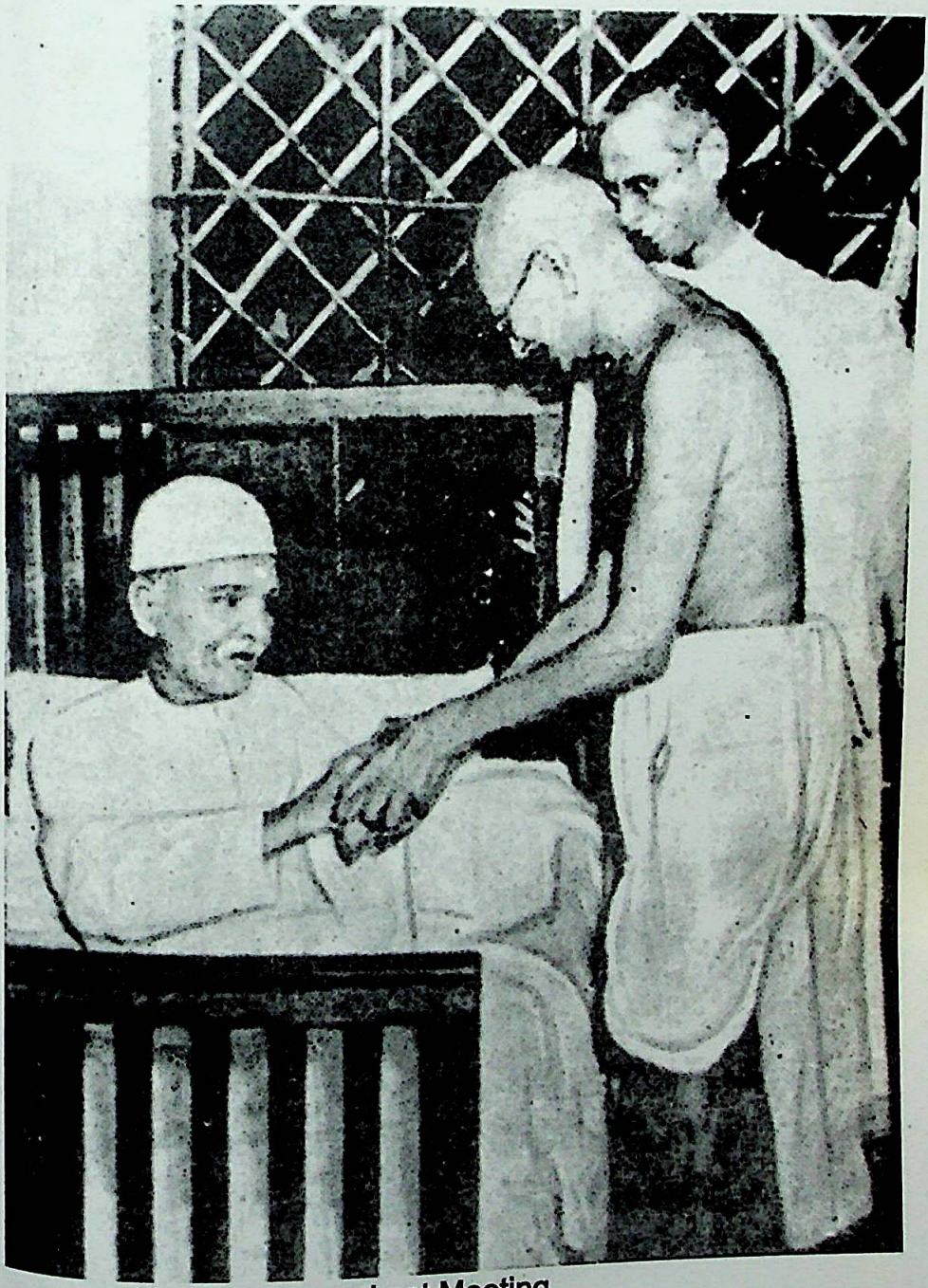

Last Meeting

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Banaras. That relieved Gandhiji as he was half afraid lest in his irrepressible enthusiasm this *enfant terrible* should decide to venture up the heights of Simla. That would be courting disaster at his age and in his present state of health. Gandhiji asked him, marvelling at his perennial freshness:

"How long are you to continue to worry over the country's affairs ?"

"So long as the country's affairs continue to cause worry," he replied, with a merry twinkle in his eyes.

"Won't you leave something to a youth like myself ? It will make me even younger."

"This young man," replied Malaviyaji in an audible whisper, his eyes beaming at his visitor, "is going to remain young for many a day yet."

"You can entrust any of your burdens to me. The only condition is that you must cease worrying and bless me with some of your strength."

"The name of God is the strength of our strength."

"That is true. The recitation of Rama nama is there all the time. But where from shall I bring your learning ? I am not flattering. I have neither your erudition nor your knowledge of the *Mahabharata* and the *Bhagavata* lore."

"But you have God's name which is the quintessence of all knowledge. Is it not ?"

"That is true, but all the same I do feel jealous of your learning. But now you must get well and make use of all your learning to that end."

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"I will get well," said Malaviyaji.

At this stage Malaviyaji's son, Radhakant told Gandhiji that he had read out his article 'Vanaspati and Ghee' to his father and it had pleased him immensely.

"It is a national menace", said Malaviyaji, "this spread of vegetable ghee, on the one hand, and the slaughter of the cows on the other. Between the two the vitality of the people is being sapped. I feel so happy over what you have done and are doing for the milk supply".

Gandhiji agreed with him as regards the menace of vegetable ghee and added: "My efforts to solve the milk problem, of course continue, but success is not possible without the full co-operation of our commercial and trading class. But I must now take leave of you".

Malaviyaji smiled and blessed in reply, making *namaskara* with folded hands at the same time. As Gandhiji rose from his seat he (Malaviyaji) slowly recited the following verse:

Forget not yourself,
But continue to spread your fragrance wherever you are,
Even like the rose.

Malaviyaji told Gandhiji not to barter away the unity of the country for the sake of its independence. Gandhiji gave him an assurance. Probably this was their last personal meeting. But Gandhiji was constantly consulting him by phone on the delicate negotiations in which he and other leaders were engaged at that time with the Cabinet Mission at Simla. He requested him to stay in Kashi to be available at any time for consultation.

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CHAPTER XXII

MALAVIYAJI PASSES AWAY

The position in the Government of India had now changed. The country had reached the gates of liberty. On 2nd September, 1946, the All Indian National Interim Government was established. Jawaharlal Nehru took charge of the Government of India. Hearing the good news Malaviyaji was filled with joy. His face glowed and he said "Apne Desh men Apna Raj" (Our Government in our country).

On 22nd September, 1946, the Students Congress of Banaras Hindu University had arranged a meeting at the Gandhi Chabutra, Ruiya Hostel and requested Professor Radhakrishnan to speak on Mahatma Gandhi. In spite of his ill health and infirmity of age, Pandit Malaviya was present in that meeting. The dawn of India's freedom had produced a new energy in him.

But the comfort which he felt from this news was submerged by the thought of the current communal situation due to Jinnah's call for Direct Action. The horrible happenings in Calcutta, Noakhali and Tripura distressed him very deeply.

Malaviyaji was continuously worried over the condition of the country. Ten days before his death he said, "I do not want

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freedom from bondage (Moksha). I want to be born again to serve my country". On his 75th birthday celebrations also he said that the condition of the country is very bad. Where do I get time to die in this situation of sorrow. Nothing was impossible for him except to conquer death.

Even though his health was steadily declining he continued to issue messages and encouraged people to organize for the defence of Dharma. As his end was nearing, he issued his last message to the nation and also paid a visit to the Shivpur Goshala.

Malaviyaji sent his last message for publication on 1st November, 1946 which was published in the *Kalyan*. That message reiterated the urgency on the part of the Hindus to unite and come out of their complacent attitude to be a powerful force to counter external influence. He made his appeal to on the Hindus to protect their religion and culture. He highlighted that the Congress party is more keen on and committed to nationalism and secularism. He said, "The future of humanity is at risk. I therefore appeal to Hindus to unite and gear up every agency of service and assistance to the community".

On the occasion of Gopastami on 2nd November, he paid a visit to the Goshala at Shivpur. Despite his ill-health he made a speech there in his feeble voice, every word of which had to be repeated so as to be audible to the audience. He said, "In a country like India it is unnecessary to dilate on the benefits derived from the cow. It is a pity that the country's children and the old people did not get milk and this shortage had been aggravated by the world war. All of you should ensure that milk and ever more milk was available to everybody."

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His condition became serious and on the 12th of November, 1946 the great soul left the mortal body. The whole nation plunged into grief.

Gandhiji sent a tribute to Madan Mohan Malaviya from Dattapara, on November 13, 1946.

"In Pandit Malaviya's death India loses the oldest and one of the ablest and unswerving servants. Upto the last moment he never ceased to think of India and her freedom."

Thereafter he wrote a letter to V.A. Sundaram (secretary to Madan Mahan Malaviya) on 18th November, 1946, saying that he is writing an article on Malaviyaji. The letter is given below:

CHI. SUNDARAM,

So Panditji is gone and yet he is not gone ! How can he, of so many unrivalled services ? His ailing body is delivered from torture. But he is immortal. Now is your testing time. You have to do all you can to make his monumental work a success. I do not mean merely financially. I am trying to write an article which you will see, if I succeed in finishing it as I hope to.

Love,
BAPU

Gandhiji who was in East Bengal touring Noakali villages wrote under the heading "Malaviyaji is Immortal":

"There is a saying in English, 'the king is dead, long live the king'. Perhaps it can be said with greater aptness though in a different setting, of the great and good Malaviyaji whom death has kindly delivered from physical pain and to whom his

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body had ceased for some time to give the work he would gladly have taken from it. Can we not say of him 'Malaviyaji the adored of Bharatvarsha is dead, long live Malaviyaji?'

"His unremitting toil from his early youth to ripe old age has made him immortal. His services were many but the Banaras Hindu University, styled in Hindi as Kashi Vishwa Vidyalaya must for all time be counted as his greatest and best creation. If it is more popularly known as the Banaras Hindu University the fault was not his, or, if it was his, it was due to his magnanimous nature. He was a servant of his followers. He allowed them to do as they wished. I happen to know personally that this spirit of accommodation was part of his nature, so much so that at times it took the shape of weakness. Only he was a powerful man. And has not his own special favourite *Bhagavata* said that no fault accrues to the powerful?

"But it is a defect which can easily be remedied now. Every stone of that majestic structure should be a reflection of true Hindu *Dharma* or culture. The institution must not in any shape or form reflect the glory of materialism as of the West that we are familiar with, but it should be a true reflection of the glory that is spiritualism. Is every pupil a representative of pure undefiled religion? If he is not, why not? This university will be judged, as all universities should be, not by the number of pupils studying in it at a given time but by their quality, however few in numbers they may be.

"I know that this is easier said than done. Nevertheless, it is the foundation of this university. If it is not that, it is nothing. Hence it is the clear duty of the progeny of the deceased as also his followers to give it that shape. It is

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essentially the function of the university to assign Hindu religion its status in the body of the religions of the world, as it is its function to rid it of its defects and limitations. The devotees of the deceased should regard it as their special duty to shoulder this burden.

"Malaviyaji has left an imperishable memorial of himself in the Kashi Vishwa Vidyalaya. To put it on a stable foundation, to secure its revolutionary growth, will surely be the most suitable memorial that can be erected by us to the memory of the great patriot. He spared no pains in making a big collection for his pet child. Everyone who reveres his memory can give a helping hand to the labour of continuing the collection.

"His internal life was purity exemplified. He was a repository of kindness and gentleness. His knowledge of religious scriptures was very great. He was by heredity a great religious preacher. He had a marvellous memory and his life was as clean as it was simple. His politics I must leave alone as also his other manifold activities. He, whose life was singled out for selfless service and who had many gifts, would naturally stand for limitless activities. I have ventured to single out what has appealed to me as his most prominent service. And to give a real helping hand in making the institution a living example of true Hinduism will only be done by those who will try to imitate sincerely the purity and simplicity of his life."

Thus ended the remarkable association of two of India's greatest leaders of modern times, Mahamana Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mahatma Gandhi.

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CHAPTER XXIII

THE CONCERN FOR EACH OTHER

The earlier chapters set out how Malaviyaji and Gandhiji affectionately worked together on many issues like enquiry and relief in the Punjab, uplift of untouchables, cow protection, *Swadeshi* movement and the *Khadi* movement. Gandhiji addressed and treated Malaviyaji who was nearly eight years older than him, as an elder brother, and always sought his blessings even in the non-co-operation programme on which Malaviyaji had a difference of opinion. They differed on the subject of non-co-operation in general and particularly on certain fundamental aspects of it, which each honestly expressed and vigorously propagated. These differences did not cause any estrangement between them because they had profound personal regard for each other. They simply agreed to disagree.

A number of incidents bear narration here to show their abiding concern for each other. Gandhiji undertook a three weeks' fast from September 17 to October 8, 1924, which he described as 'an effective prayer both to Hindus and Musalmans, who have hitherto worked in unison, not to commit suicide'. The fast was started at the residence of Mohammad Ali where Malaviyaji recited the Srimad-Bhagavata to invoke Divine help

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for Gandhiji. The whole country was astonished on Malaviyaji's reading Srimad-Bhagavata at a Muslim's house.

Gandhiji writes in his autobiography:

"A few months after this we came to Rajkot. There was no *Ramayana* reading there. The *Bhagavata*, however, used to be read on every *Ekadashi* day. Sometimes I attended the reading, but the reciter was uninspiring. Today I see that the *Bhagavata* is a book which can evoke religious fervour. I have read it in Gujarati with intense interest. But when I heard portions of the original read by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya during my twenty-one days' fast, I wished I had heard it in my childhood from such a devotee as he is, so that I could have formed a liking for it at an early age. Impressions formed at that age strike roots deep down into one's nature....."

In the Young India dated 29-5-1924 Gandhiji wrote under the caption 'Growing Distrust': "Another potent cause of the tension is the growing distrust even among the best of us. I have been warned against Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji. He is suspected of secret motives. It is said that he is no friend of the Musalmans. He is even credited with being jealous of my influence. I have the privilege of knowing him intimately ever since my return to India in 1915. I have had the privilege of closest communion with him. I regard him as one of the best among Hindus who, though orthodox, holds most liberal views. He is no enemy of Musalmans. He is incapable of being jealous of anyone. He has a heart large enough to accommodate even his enemies. He has never aimed at power. And what he has is due to a long period of unbroken service of the motherland, such as very few of us can boast. He and

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I are temperamentally different, but love each other like brothers. There never has been even so much as a jar between us. Our ways being different, there can be no question of rivalry, therefore, of jealousy either."

Gandhiji visited Banaras Hindu University and addressed the students on 9th January, 1927. This meeting was attended by about 2,000 students and was held under a *shamiana* specially erected for the Viceregal visit which preceded Gandhiji's by just a week. Here is an extract from his speech:

"Malaviyaji's one object in begging millions for you, in raising these palatial buildings, is to send out to the country gems of purest ray, citizens healthy and strong to serve their motherland. That purpose will be defeated, if you allow yourselves to be swept with the wind that comes today from the West—the wind of impurity. Not that the methods have the general sanction of Europe. There are friends in Europe, a very few, who are fighting hard to counteract the poisonous tendency. But if you do not wake up betimes, the immoral wave that is fast gathering strength might soon envelop and overwhelm you. I cry out to you, therefore, with all the strength at my command: Be warned, and flee from the fire before it consumes you."

Gandhiji wrote a letter to Malaviyaji from Wardha on 10th December, 1928 enquiring about his health. The letter was as follows:

BHAI SAHEB,

I was pained to learn from Ghanshyamdasji that you are being indifferent to your health. You have vowed to live long.

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You are not going before the attainment of freedom. Then, how is it that you are not taking necessary care of your health? I shall meet you in Calcutta.

Your younger brother,
MOHANDAS

Again Gandhiji visited Banaras Hindu University and addressed the students on 25th September, 1929. An extract from his speech is as below:

"The Hindu University is the biggest creation of Malaviyaji. He has been serving the nation continuously for the past 40 years. We all know how great his services have been. The Hindu University is the epitome of his life-work. Respected Malaviyaji and I have our differences of opinion. But the differences do not stop me from paying tribute to him for his services. The success of this University will be the measure of his success, and the success of this University can be judged by the way the students have moulded their characters, how far they have contributed towards the progress of the country and how much religion they have imbibed.

"What are you doing to deserve the monumental service of the great son of India? He expects you to become not literary giants but defenders of Hinduism and the country through expressing true religion in your own lives. . . . Remember that this, the greatest creation of Malaviyaji's, will be judged not by the magnificence of the buildings or the 1,300 acres that they cover, but by what you become."

Gandhiji while going to England gave this tribute to Malaviyaji on 7th September, 1931:-

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EN ROUTE TO ENGLAND,

I have always been a hero-worshipper of Malaviyaji Maharaj and how can such a worshipper express his homage? Whatever words he may write would seem inadequate to him. My first sight of him was through a photograph in 1890. It appeared in the journal *India* brought out in England by Mr. Digby. Believe me, the same image is before my eyes even today. As in his dress, so in his thoughts, a continuity has been preserved and this is based on his charm and devotion. Who today can match Malaviyaji's patriotism which has had an uninterrupted flow from his youth down to this day? The Banaras Hindu University is his life-breath and he in turn is the life of the Banaras Hindu University. May this hero among men live long for our sake.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

This tribute written by Gandhiji in his own handwriting in Hindi is preserved in the Bharat Kala Bhavan of the B.H.U.:

मैं तो मालवीयजी महाराज का पुजारी हूँ। पुजारी कैसे स्तुति के वचन लिख सके? जो कुछ लिखेगा उसे अपूर्ण सा प्रतीत होगा। मालवीयजी के दर्शन मैंने सन् १८९० की साल में चित्र द्वारा किया था, वह चित्र विलायत में इंडिया पत्र जो श्री डिगवी निकालते थे उसमें था। माना जाय कि वही छवि मैं आज भी देख रहा हूँ। जैसे उनके लिवास में ऐसे ही उनके विचार में ऐक्य चला आया है और इस ऐक्य में मैंने माधुर्य और भक्ति पाये हैं। आज मालवीयजी के साथ देशभक्ति में कौन मुकाबला कर सकता है? यौवन काल से आरम्भ करके आज तक उनकी देशभक्ति का प्रवाह अविच्छिन्न चलता आया है। काशी विश्वविद्यालय के मालवीय जी प्राण हैं, काशी विश्वविद्यालय मालवीयजी का प्राण है। यह नरवीर हमारे लिये दीर्घायु हो।

विलायत जाते हुये — मोहनदास गांधी

७-९-३१

(This was included in the Volume which was presented to Malaviyaji on February 11, 1932. His 70th birthday fell on December 25, 1931.)

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Gandhiji wrote a letter to Malaviyaji on 2nd May 1933 seeking his blessings, as below:-

BHAI SAHEB,

It is getting on to 2 in the morning. Do send me your blessings for the coming *yajna* if you can. I am only trying to do what I learnt from my parents since childhood. Mother spent almost half her life in fasting. What can I do? I am unable to serve the cause of the Harijans through intellect alone.

Your younger brother,
MOHANDAS

Malaviyaji's telegram in reply to this read: "God bless you. As I have said in my fast-day public speech, I am fully convinced that He has guided you in your decision. I have been praying that He may grant you strength to go successfully through your great *vrata* and have faith that He will. Pray become *ananyabhava*. Shut out, as much as you can, all thought except of Him, who is our sole shelter and support. In addition to *japa* or *Dwadashakshar Mantra*, please practise during part of the day '*soham*' with every inhalation and exhalation. This will help to keep up the stream of life within. Some great *tapasvis* are watching you with tender care, and vast millions are praying for you. Please let the atmosphere about you be disturbed as little as possible by any talk except of '*Vasudeva*' who dwells in all sentient beings. Remember His injunction and promise: *Matchittah sarva durgani matprasadat tarishyasi* (Fixing thy thought on Me, thou shall surmount every difficulty by My grace). Will meet you as soon as health permits".

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The Subjects Committee Meeting of the A.I.C.C. held on October 23, 1934 was presided over by Rajendra Prasad. Gandhiji spoke on the occasion in Hindi. The record of the meeting read as follows :

"In the course of his statement Mahatmaji said that he hoped that the members of the Subjects Committee would agree with him in his decision that his retirement was a necessity at the present moment. He would certainly work and help the Congress while remaining outside. The conclusion which he had arrived at after a long deliberation would not be changed.

"Pandit Malaviya made an impassioned appeal to Mr. Gandhi not to leave the Congress at this juncture, when it was in the midst of its fight for the freedom of the country. . . . He said that, if there were mistakes and shortcomings on the part of the Congressmen, he should point them out and see that these were rectified but should not make them the justification for leaving the Congress. He had no right to leave the Congress, after having led it for 13 or 14 years. "Whatever you want to do from outside the Congress you can do from within it," added the Pandit. "The farther away you are from the Congress, the greater will be the sorrow of the country." He asked Mr. Gandhi not to be too strict with the masses in regard to the observance of truth and non-violence in the same degree as he (Mr. Gandhi) himself was observing. "You have a proper cabinet with you. Your soldiers are ready to follow you in the fight. Why do you want to leave all these to themselves and go out of the Congress?

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I make a personal appeal to you, with all my love and regard for you not to retire at this juncture.

"Gandhiji, replying to the several questions that had been raised by the speakers, said that he had considered Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya as his elder brother since 1915. If the speaker could carry out the wishes of the Pandit, he would have very gladly done so, considering his wishes as the command of an elder brother. But he felt that he could not help but leave the Congress under the circumstances. He was leaving the organization because he was anxious to strengthen it.

"Pandit Malaviya, interrupting, said that it was not fair on the part of the Mahatma to retire without sufficient notice. It was the duty of every servant, whether paid or honorary, to give proper notice of retirement from the work that had been entrusted to him. He said, "It is for 14 years that you have been at the head of the Congress. Do not be in haste to retire. Give these people time to make proper arrangements for the great work of reorganizing the Congress, which is before them. Give them at least four or six months, if not more.

"Replying to the charge of being hasty, Mr. Gandhi said he was a fighter and knew his duty as a soldier. The first duty of a *satyagrahi* was to stick to his post. He felt that he was not leaving his post of duty. If he felt it was a mistake on his part to have retired from the Congress, he would come back without even waiting for an invitation."

Gandhiji said at the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan at Indore on 20th April, 1935:

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"When I had come to Indore on an earlier occasion to assume the president-ship of the Sammelan, I had craved the blessings of Malaviyaji Maharaj and he had sent me a long letter of blessings. Now that he is stricken with illness and also overburdened with work, I crave blessings from all of you. Malaviyaji, on account of ill-health and also because he has to go abroad, could not assume the president-ship of the Sammelan. The Reception Committee was therefore obliged to choose me".

"Malaviyaji's telegram has also come, in which he has sent me his blessings. It is not necessary to translate the full text of the telegram. I pray to God that he may live for a hundred years and may enjoy good health all through. He is seventy years of age, and when he works, he does so like a youth of seventeen. May God give him a long life. May he continue to serve India as he is doing. I have come here with his blessings and as his deputy."

Malaviyaji sent a telegram to Gandhiji which read: "Thank God. He has heard prayers of vast millions and set you free to breathe fresh air. Have every hope. He will let you live a hundred years to serve motherland and mankind."

Gandhiji sent a reply telegram to Malaviyaji on 6th May, 1944 which read:

AT A STROKE YOU HAVE CUT OFF TWENTY-FIVE YEARS.
ADD TWENTY-FIVE TO YOURS!

The allusion was to Gandhiji's last speech in the All-India Congress Committee before his arrest in August 1942, when he had said that he would like to live and serve the country for 125 years. Such was the love and affection between them.

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Gandhiji's favourite verse is,

"वैष्णव जन तो तेने कहिये जे पीड पराई जाणे रे।"

That means:- He is a true Vaishnavite (one who believes in God Vishnu) who realizes the sorrow of others.

Gandhiji said Malaviyaji used to say that today my prayer is the same like sage Chyavana's prayer of a thousand years ago before, namely :

कोऽनुसस्यादुपायोऽत्र येनाहं दुःखितात्मनाम्।
अन्तःप्रविश्य भूतानां भवेयं दुःखभाक् सदा॥

That means:- At this juncture, who will advise me about the means by which I shall enter the inner being of living beings, who are immersed in sorrow all the while, so that I may share their sorrow.

Gandhiji said that this showed Malaviyaji was a true Vaishnava, indeed an unique personification of the ideals of Srimad Bhagavata. What greater tribute could a Mahatma give to a Mahamana!

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GLOSSARY

Acharya	A teacher or preceptor
Ahimsa	non-violence
Ananyabhava	with undivided mind
Artha	desire
Arya Natak Mandali	dramatic society
Ashram	a hermitage
Bhakta	Devotee
Bhakti-marga	The path of devotion
Bhangi	a scavenger
Chamara	cobbler
Chandal	low caste man
Dakshina	offering to a Brahmana or preceptor
Darbar	a royal court
Daridranarayana	the poor
Darshan	sight, to have a view of
Dharma	righteousness
Dharmatma	righteous
Dhotis	cloth worn round the waist
Doha	a couplet in Hindi
Ekadashi	the eleventh day of every fortnight of a lunar month
Fatwa	ruling of a Muslim religious head or declaration

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GLOSSARY

Gopashtami	the eighth day after Deepavali
Goshala	cow-shelter
Gulli-danda	the game of tip-cat
Hindi Uddharani Sabha	Society for the resuscitation of Hindi
Japa	repetition of God's name
Jnana-vapi	well of knowledge
Kabaddi	a typical outdoor Indian game
Khansamas	waiters
Kisans	Peasants
Mela	a fair
Moksha	salvation
Mula Dhan	Capital money
Munshis	clerks
Mung	Green gram
Namaskara	Salutation
Naya-Nagar	new town
Pandal	a huge pavilion
Patwaris	the village official who maintains land records
Pinjrapoles	Shelters for crippled and aged cattle
Poojaniya	Revered
Prarthana	Prayer
Prakrusta Yaga	excellent Sacrifice
Pucca	strong
Purushartha	an object of human pursuit

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Rishis	a sage
Sadhu	sage
Sandhya	morning and evening prayers
Sanatana Dharma	Orthodox Hinduism
Satya	truth
Satyagraha	insisting on Truth
Shamiana	tent
Shastrarthas	debates
Shraddha	Last rites
Swadeshi	things made in our own country
Swaraj	self-rule
Tapasvins	men of austerity
Tapovan	the abode of austerities
Thana	a police station
Triveni Sangam	a confluence of three sacred rivers
Tyaga	sacrifice
Upanayanam	Investiture with the sacred thread
Vaishnavite	one who believes in God Vishnu
Vasudeva	Lord Vishnu
Vrata	Vow
Yaga	sacrifice
Yagnopaveet	sacred thread
Yajna	a sacrificial rite

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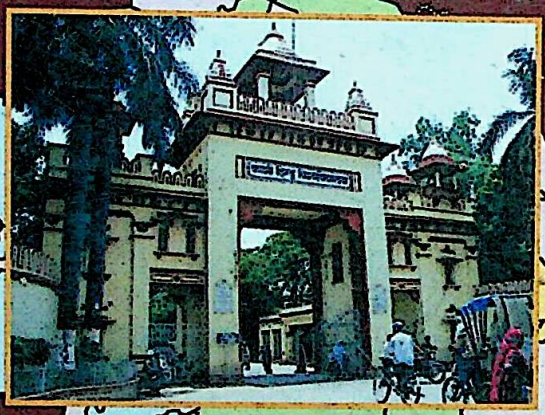

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